

ornia
al
y



THE LIBRARY
OF
THE UNIVERSITY
OF CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES

MEMORIALS OF
ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

Memorials of St. Paul's Cathedral

BY

THE VEN.

WILLIAM MACDONALD SINCLAIR, D.D.

HON. D.D. GLASGOW, F.R.S.L., F.R.G.S.

(Some time Archdeacon of London, and Canon of St. Paul's)

AUTHOR OF "THE CHAPELS ROYAL," "JOHN MACWHIRTER, R.A.,"
"JOSEPH FARQUHARSON, A.R.A.," "LEADERS OF THOUGHT IN THE
ENGLISH CHURCH," "CHRIST AND OUR TIMES,"
"DIFFICULTIES OF OUR DAY," ETC.

NEW AND ABBREVIATED EDITION

LONDON
CHAPMAN AND HALL
LIMITED

1913

Handwritten

and the other

Handwritten

JAS. TRUSCOTT & SON, LTD., London.

DA

687

S14S61

1913

PREFACE

WHEN I was asked to write a book about St. Paul's which might bring its history and life before the people, I naturally hesitated; partly from the greatness of the subject and the importance of the enterprise, and partly because the ground had been so thoroughly traversed by Dean Milman in his *Annals*. At St. Paul's, whenever we think of its long and wonderful career, our minds naturally turn to the luminous writings of our own historian. But Milman's work was published in 1868, and the whole development of the modern popular life of St. Paul's has been since that date. The book is also out of print, and the copyright has expired. Feeling that it would be impossible to give the story of the earlier centuries of St. Paul's without taking advantage of the abundant stores set out in stately style and with masterly treatment by the historian of *Latin Christianity* and of *the Jews*, I wrote to Mr. John Murray, and asked his permission to quote from the *Annals*, which he very kindly granted. Those who are familiar with that admirable work will see that, to compare small things with great, Milman has been to me as Virgil to Dante. It would be absurd to suppose that my performance could by any be regarded as a rival to the accomplished historian's; so I have nothing to do but to express sincerely and gratefully my unbounded obligations. I am also indebted to Longman's *Three Cathedrals dedicated to St. Paul*; to my late friend Dr. Sparrow Simpson's three very interesting antiquarian volumes on St. Paul's; to

Lena Milman's *Sir Christopher Wren*; to my friend Mr. John S. Bumpus's exhaustive work, *Organists and Composers of St. Paul's Cathedral*; to Mr. John B. Marsh's *St. Paul's Cross*; to my friend the Rev. Lewis Gilbertson's very clear and concise *Official Guide*; and to the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Conscious of the imperfections of my own contribution to the work, and wishing that I were more worthy of so noble and sacred an enterprise, I yet hope that through these pages St. Paul's and its eventful past and present may become better known to the English-speaking race.

CONTENTS

CHAP.	PAGE
I. ANCIENT LONDON	1
II. THE DAYS OF THE NORMANS	8
III. THE PAPAL LEGATES	15
IV. THE PAPAL LEGATES (<i>continued</i>)	22
V. THE COMPLETION OF OLD ST. PAUL'S	29
VI. THE DAYS OF WYCLIFFE	34
VII. THE WARS OF THE ROSES	43
VIII. THE DAWN OF THE REFORMATION	49
IX. THE INTERIOR OF OLD ST. PAUL'S	55
X. HENRY VIII., AND THE APPROACH OF THE REFORMATION	62
XI. EDWARD VI., AND THE REFORMATION	77
XII. REACTION: QUEEN MARY	86
XIII. QUEEN ELIZABETH, AND THE REVIVED REFORMATION	96
XIV. JAMES I.	117
XV. CHARLES I.	123
XVI. ST. PAUL'S UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH	127
XVII. RESTORATION OF THE MONARCHY	134
XVIII. THE GREAT FIRE OF 1666	137

CHAP.	PAGE
XIX. BEGINNING OF THE NEW CATHEDRAL:	
WREN'S PLANS 	141
XX. THE NEW CATHEDRAL 	150
XXI. IN THE DAYS OF WILLIAM III., MARY	
AND ANNE 	157
XXII. THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AFTER ANNE	166
XXIII. ST. PAUL'S IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY	176
XXIV. ST. PAUL'S IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY	196
XXV. THE RICHMOND MOSAICS 	209
XXVI. THE ORDER OF ST. MICHAEL AND ST.	
GEORGE 	213
XXVII. THE ORGANISTS OF ST. PAUL'S 	220
XXVIII. PAUL'S CROSS 	235
XXIX. INTERMENTS AND MONUMENTS IN OLD ST.	
PAUL'S... 	247
XXX. MEMORIALS AND BURIALS IN THE NEW	
CATHEDRAL 	252
APPENDIX—BISHOPS OF LONDON 	276

CHAPTER I

ANCIENT LONDON

OF the introduction of Christianity into Britain it may be said that it was certainly not later than some time in the second century, if not earlier. Its first arrival is as uncertain as the origin of London: the fable of King Lucius and the long list of British Bishops of London must be set aside as pure legend. But there can be no doubt at all that as commerce made its way along the great central Roman road from Marseilles and Lyons, through Gaul, and crossed to Dover, Christianity came with it. In addition to that, during the four centuries of the Roman occupation of Britain the Christian faith was rapidly increasing in Rome in influence and in the number of its adherents, and this change must have been reflected in the army and the social life of the flourishing province. About A.D. 208 Tertullian writes that the Kingdom and Name of Christ were then acknowledged in Britain even in those parts inaccessible to the Romans. Several subsequent writers speak in terms of enthusiasm of the British Church. Unhappily, when the pagan Anglo-Saxon invaders arrived after the departure of the Romans, they so completely destroyed all the records and traces of that Church that we have little definite information about it, except that it existed, that it was probably founded under Eastern auspices, as Marseilles and Lyons were Greek colonies, and that it was flourishing and was important. In 314, a gleam of light occurs; a Council of Bishops was held at Arles, in the South of Gaul, and was attended by three British Bishops, whose names are inscribed in the records of the

Council, and of whom one was Restitutus, Bishop of London. No doubt there was a long line of these Bishops; no doubt they had a Bishop's church, or cathedral; perhaps it may have been on the site of St. Paul's; but that is all that can be said.

At the beginning of the seventh century, the wise and able Pope, Gregory the Great, determined on sending a mission to convert the Anglo-Saxon tribes in Britain. The story of the manner in which his sympathy was aroused by seeing yellow-haired captive boys from Northumbria exposed for sale as slaves in the Roman market, is well known.

The first Roman Bishop of London is thus introduced to us by Bede: "In the year of our Lord 604, Augustine, Archbishop of Britain, consecrated two Bishops, namely, Mellitus and Justus; Mellitus to preach to the province of the East Saxons, who are divided from Kent by the River Thames, and border on the eastern sea. Their metropolis is the City of London, situated on the bank of the aforesaid river, and is the mart of many nations resorting to it by sea and land. At that time Sebert, nephew to Ethelbert (the King of Kent whom Augustine converted) by his sister Rricula, reigned over the nation, though under subjection to Ethelbert, who had command over all the nations of the English as far as the River Humber. But when this province (the East Saxons) also received the word of truth by the preaching of Mellitus, King Ethelbert built the church of St. Paul in the City of London, where he and his successors should have their episcopal seat."¹ Ethelbert not only built the cathedral, but there is also a persistent legend that he endowed it with the Manor of Tillingham, in Essex, as a support for the fabric. The earliest deed may be a copy of his donation: it bears the lines, "And if any one should be tempted to take away this gift, let him be anathema, and excommunicated from all Christian

¹ *Eccl. Hist.*, book ii. chap. iii.

society." There is no rival claimant to Ethelbert in this grant, so that the truthfulness of the tradition may be reasonably accepted. When all the other estates of St. Paul's were handed over to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for administration on behalf of the Church at large, Tillingham was kept by the Chapter as a sacred charge, and is still used for the same purpose as its original intention thirteen hundred years ago.

The conversion of Sebert, King of the East Saxons, and the building and endowment of a cathedral in London by his uncle and overlord Ethelbert, King of Kent, seemed to promise well for the labours of Mellitus. But Sebert and Ethelbert died, and were succeeded by pagan sons. The kingdom of the East Saxons, including Middlesex, Essex, and Herts, with London, seems to have been ruled jointly by the three sons of Sebert; and their open rejection of Christianity was followed by their people. Entering St. Paul's one day as the Bishop was celebrating the Eucharist, the three openly mocked the sacred rites: "We will not enter into that layer, because we do not know that we stand in need of it; but eat of that bread we will." They gave the Bishop the alternative of compliance or expulsion; so he withdrew in his twelfth year, and retired across the Channel, where he remained some years. Meanwhile Augustine had died, and was succeeded in the Archbishopric of Canterbury by another of his Roman companions, Laurentius. Laurentius entreated Mellitus to return; but "the Londoners would not receive Bishop Mellitus, choosing rather to be under their idolatrous high-priests." Mellitus in the end succeeded Laurentius in the Archbishopric. It may be hoped that his episcopate at Canterbury was more successful than that at London. Bede gives us an interesting glimpse of him in his Archbishopric. He was unfortunately afflicted with the gout: but though his malady sorely hindered his bodily activity, "his mind,

with vigorous steps, joyfully leaped up beyond earthly affairs, and flew to love and seek things celestial." There was a terrible conflagration at Canterbury; in those days of wooden buildings such fires were frequent: the whole city was in danger of being burnt; water was thrown upon the flames, but all in vain; they continued to spread with terrific power: the Church of the Four Crowned Martyrs, martyrs who had fallen in the persecution of Diocletian, stood in the place where the fire raged most fiercely: thither the Primate, though weighed down by his infirmities and the pains of sickness, bade his servants carry him. Strong men had laboured to no purpose to put out the flames—he would show them the power of prayer. He prayed fervently; and the wind, which had been blowing from the south now veered to the north; the flames were beaten back, and presently, the wind ceasing altogether, were entirely extinguished, and the city was saved.¹ Mellitus ruled the Church of Canterbury five years, and died on April 24, 624. London remained pagan. The failure of Mellitus led to an unforeseen result. Gregory the Great had directed Augustine to remove the Primacy to London from Canterbury as soon as the Church in London should be ripe for the change. But the retreat of Mellitus, and the relapse of the East Saxons, were followed by so long an interval, that when at last, under a totally different influence, Christianity was firmly planted in London, it was too late for such a measure: archbishop had succeeded to archbishop in the little city of Canterbury, and prescription prevailed.

It was after nearly half-a-century that Sigebert the Good, King of the East Saxons, on a visit to King Oswy, of Northumbria, was converted by the reasoning of his Christian host, and baptized by Bishop Finan of Lindisfarne. Lindisfarne, or Holy

¹ Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, ii. 7.

Island, is the largest of a group of islets lying about two miles off the coast of Northumberland between Bamborough and Berwick, and protected by the immediate presence of the Court at the former royal fortress. When St. Aidan came from Iona to convert the wild Teutonic settlers in Northumbria, he chose Lindisfarne as his home and seat of authority, closely following the example of his illustrious chief, St. Columba, in his sacred island amongst the seas of the West Highlands. Iona was the type of a simple and sincere form of Christianity, independent of Rome, which had come to Ireland through Britain, had passed over with St. Columba to Scotland, and was destined to be the source of the greater part of the conversion of the English as well. What Christian eyes can look without emotion on some bright summer day at the little long low island of Lindisfarne, as it lies across the two miles of sand and water, which carts and horses cross as they did in the days of Aidan, with its gleaming sandy banks rising white from the blue sea, over-arched by the vast unbroken vault of heaven, its thick grass brilliant in the sunshine, its fields fertile with a cultivation begun by St. Aidan and his monks, its castle on the rocky hill, the miniature of Bamborough, its beautiful Norman Abbey of red sandstone, built by the Durham monks in miniature of their own cathedral, and in honour of Aidan, Finan, Cuthbert, and other saints; and its honest fisher people, descendants of those to whom Aidan himself preached! Lindisfarne is the real mother of St. Paul's and every church in London; the little Lindis brook, the water from which the baptismal streams of London churches have for twelve centuries and a half derived historically their sacred usage.

Returning from Bamborough to London, King Sigebert¹ took with him two brothers, disciples of Bishop Finan, and recommended by him for the mission to the East Saxons, English themselves by

¹ G is hard, I and E short.

race. One of the two was Cedd,¹ who was to be the first Anglo-Saxon Bishop of London; a third brother was St. Chad, the illustrious Apostle of Mercia. The two missionaries travelled zealously up and down Essex, Middlesex and Hertfordshire from London, through the forests to the villages and markets, under the protection of Sigebert, and gained so many converts that Bishop Finan felt no difficulty in consecrating Cedd Bishop of the East Saxons. Cedd at once set about training converts, natives of the province, for the priesthood, at two centres—Ythancester, near Tillingham, and at Tilbury.² When the Council was held at Whitby to confer on the claims of the Church of Rome to supremacy, he acted as interpreter, and was won over with the majority to the Roman method of reckoning Easter. He died of the plague soon after in 664.

Of his successor, Winé, little or nothing is known. Another visitation of the plague is mentioned as having caused half the diocese to relapse, the other half, under King Sebbé, remaining faithful. The overlordship was then in the hands of Wulfere, King of Mercia, who sent his own Bishop Jaruman, who also belonged to the Iona connection, with a number of clergy, who restored the Christianity of the lapsed districts.

Winé's successor was the famous St. Erkonwald, who was himself of the Royal family of the East Saxons. It was he who built the first stone Cathedral of St. Paul's, the previous buildings having been of wood. Erkonwald must have had a strong personality: his legendary Life is full of admiration for his munificence to the Cathedral and of abundant miracles. It was in Bishop Erkonwald's house in London that the great Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury was reconciled to Bishop Wilfrid after their old estrangement. From this meeting may be dated the long series of nego-

¹ C is hard.

² Bishop Browne's *Conversion of the Heptarchy*, p. 154 (S.P.C.K.).

tiations which ended in Wilfrid's restoration to his cathedral church and monastery.¹ Erkonwald was canonized, and his tomb became one of the most famous and sacred shrines in England, at which each generation, down to the Reformation, worshipped with devoutest faith and lavish generosity.

With the exception of St. Dunstan, who held the See from 959 to 961, St. Erkonwald's twenty-four successors till the period of the Norman Conquest are known merely by their names. That they were in general men in whom the public placed their confidence is shown by the fact of the great estates granted during these three centuries to the Cathedral and the Bishopric. These, with others of a later date, have been for the most part covered with buildings, and are now in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, to be administered for the general good of the whole Church. They have become so valuable that they now amount to nearly half of the Commissioners' revenue. The Cathedral receives about a tenth of the income of its ancient property, the Bishop about a twentieth of that which belonged to his predecessors. The rest is most ably distributed by the Commissioners amongst poor or new parishes in England and Wales, in providing stipends, in augmenting incomes, in the payment of pensions, and in other admirable ways; so that the whole National Church has now reason to be grateful to the generous benefactors of those early days.

In 962, the year after Dunstan became Primate, St. Paul's was burnt, but was rebuilt the same year. This was the time when London was suffering much from the ravages of the Danes, or Northmen.

In 1014, St. Alphege, or Elphege, the Primate, clubbed to death in a drunken rabble by the Danes, was buried in St. Paul's. In 1017 was buried Ethelred the Unready, and nearly half-a-century later, Edward the Outlaw, the representative of the House of Cerdic and Alfred.

¹ Canon Bright, M.A., *Hist.*, p. 351.

CHAPTER II

THE DAYS OF THE NORMANS

THE preponderating Norman influence on the mind of Edward the Confessor is illustrated by the fact that in 1044 he appointed to the Bishopric of London the Norman *Robert*, Abbot of Jumièges, who six years afterwards was translated to Canterbury. Another Norman, named *William*, was consecrated in 1051. Next year came the anti-Norman revolution of Earl Godwin, when part of the terms of peace between the Confessor and his victorious kinsman, was that the Primate and all the other foreigners should be banished. The Primate was relegated to the charge of his Abbey of Jumièges; but William of London, beloved on account of his goodness, was allowed to return, and from that time was unmolested in the possession of his Bishopric until his death in 1075. He was one of the most memorable and notable of all the occupants of the See, beloved by the citizens, the protector of their liberties, honoured and respected even by his adversaries. He had been Chaplain to the Confessor, and after the Conquest in 1066 rose into high favour with the Norman king. This favour he used on behalf of the people; for it was through his intercession that the Conqueror restored and confirmed all the ancient privileges of the City of London. His action and character alike made an indelible impression on succeeding generations of citizens.

For centuries they made their annual pilgrimage to the tomb of their revered patron in the nave of St. Paul's. As late as the seventeenth century, A.D. 1622, the Lord Mayor, Edward Barkham, had the following lines set upon the tomb:—

“Walkers, whosoe'er ye be,
If it prove you chance to see
Upon a solemn scarlet day
The City Senate pass this way,
Their grateful memory for to show
Which they the reverend ashes owe
Of Bishop Norman here inhumed;
By which this City has assumed
Large privileges; those obtained
By him when Conqueror William reigned.
This being by Barkham's thankful mind renewed
Call it the monument of gratitude.”¹

In 1075, the last year of Bishop William, a great council was held by the Primate Lanfranc in St. Paul's Cathedral, probably the first full Ecclesiastical Parliament in England. The Saxon Councils have been mostly local synods,² the scenes of some of which cannot now be even traced; this was an assemblage of the National Church, in the capital City. Lanfranc was famous throughout Christendom as a theologian; and the Council was attended by almost all the Bishops and greater Abbots of the realm, with the Heads of the Religious Orders.

The successor of Bishop William was *Hugh de Orivalle*, or *Orwell*, in 1075; he ruled ten years. All that is recollected of him is that he became a leper. In spite of this affliction, which was regarded as a visitation of God, and made its victim an object of commiseration and an outcast of society, he does not appear to have been deposed. It is recorded that a strange and ineffectual remedy was tried: the carrying out of the idea of St. Matt. xix. 12; but he lived and died a leper.

¹ Dugdale, p. 37.

² Wilkins' *Concilia*; Milman's *St. Paul's*, p. 19.

In 1086, he was succeeded by *Mauritius*, chaplain and chancellor to the Conqueror, the builder of the magnificent Norman Cathedral, the nave of which lasted till the time of the Great Fire of 1666. The earlier building, erected originally by St. Erkonwald, had been rebuilt at least twice after fires; and in 1087, the year of the Conqueror's death, a terrible conflagration swept over the whole City, either entirely consuming St. Paul's, or rendering it useless. Of this church, in which Lanfranc had held his great Council, no record survives as to its size, architecture or characteristics. It is not easy to say what an Anglo-Saxon cathedral would be like. A few Anglo-Saxon churches, or parts of churches, remain, such as Bradford-on-Avon, Jarrow, the crypt at Repton (the ancient capital of Mercia), towers at Oxford and Cambridge, the church of Worth, a tower and spire at Sompting in Sussex; but these are all on a small scale. Architecture for the Anglo-Saxons was probably brought by Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop from Rome in the seventh century, during the time of their frequent visits, and was Romanesque in character, with semi-circular arches, round pillars of slenderer bulk than those of the Norman style, with thin pilasters and tabernacle work on the walls within and without. There is an eloquent description of Wilfrid's Anglo-Saxon cathedral at Hexham, which seems to have been of nearly the same dimensions as the present Abbey; something of this kind it is left to us to imagine at St. Paul's.

Maurice was appointed at Christmas 1085, and was consecrated at Winchester in 1086. He set about the building of the new Cathedral, with Norman faith and courage, on a superb scale, and with unrivalled design; the preparations were so great that, although he ruled twenty-three years, he did not live to see more than the beginnings of his splendid undertaking. We have almost complete Norman cathedrals at Durham, Peterborough

and Norwich ; and we have Norman naves at Ely, Gloucester, Rochester, Southwell and Chichester, as well as the monastic churches of Tewkesbury, Romsey, Melbourne and others. From the drawings and measurements of Hollar we arrive at the conviction that these were all surpassed by the design of Bishop Maurice. The nave consisted of twelve bays, and was about 315 feet long ; or if the space under the central tower to the entrance of the choir be included, 360 ; the breadth was 104, the internal height 93, external 130. The choir and transepts, which were finally built on a Gothic plan, were of about the same dimensions.

It was Bishop Maurice of London who crowned King Henry I. at Winchester.

He was succeeded by *Richard de Belmeis*, who also ruled for twenty years, and who, with no less enthusiasm than Maurice, devoted the whole of his official resources to the work, and lived on his own private means. He was a man of large schemes, and did his best to regain for the See of the capital city the dignity to which it had been originally destined by Pope Gregory ; he asked the Pope to create an archbishopric of London. It would have been a reasonable and proper step to take : the ecclesiastical chief of the capital ought to possess the highest ecclesiastical station : the Church of France has seven archbishoprics ; archbishoprics are numerous in Germany and Italy ; in Sicily the Archbishoprics of Palermo and Monreale are within four miles of each other ; but Church-life in England has, except in great crises, been extraordinarily conservative in details, and the Archbishops of Canterbury have firmly and consistently opposed any reversal to the original plan of Pope Gregory as a kind of sacrilege. On hearing of the step taken by De Belmeis, St. Anselm wrote to the Pope, urging him by no means to consent to what he regarded as an usurpation.

In the later years of his life, De Belmeis with-

drew from the cares of his diocese, and devoted his mind to the foundation of a monastery of regular canons at St. Osyth in Essex. He hoped to retire from his bishopric, and to live in peace as one of the canons. But paralysis seized him: for four years he lingered; in 1128 he died, and was buried at his new foundation.

Of the next Bishop it is not recorded that he did anything for the structure. From his vast and comprehensive learning he was known as *Gilbert the Universal*; he was a Canon of Lyons, and head of the famous School of Nevers. He was charged with covetousness, did not distribute his riches in his diocese, and lived the life of a learned recluse. On his death enormous wealth was found in his treasury, which the Crown seized. His boots, full of gold and silver, were carried to the Exchequer. Gilbert the Universal died on his way to Rome, between 1135 and 1141.

A contest ensued between two sections of the Chapter of St. Paul's as to the appointment of the new Bishop. It was probably partly political, as the struggle between Stephen and the Empress Matilda for the throne of England was beginning about the same period. During the contest, the administration of the See was, by the authority of the Pope, placed in the hands of Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, Stephen's brother. Part of the canons favoured Anselm, Abbot of St. Edmund's, nephew of St. Anselm the great Archbishop; the party of the Dean supported Robert de Sigillo, a monk of Reading. Both sides sent embassies to the Pope. At length, when in 1141 the Empress Matilda entered London, *Robert de Sigillo* was summoned to be Bishop.

Matthew Paris, the chronicler, tells us that in 1136 another disastrous fire devastated the City. It began at London Bridge and raged as far as St. Clement Danes. He says St. Paul's was burnt; but we do not know how far the building of Maurice

had risen, nor what was the effect of the destruction.¹ Bishop Henry of Blois, as guardian of the See, appealed to his own flock on behalf of St. Paul's; collections were to be made throughout all the churches in the diocese of Winchester.

Bishop Robert de Sigillo instituted the office of Treasurer in the Cathedral; and died of eating poisoned grapes in 1152.²

There is nothing to say about his successor, *Robert de Belmeis*, except that he was the nephew of the great Bishop of the same name, that he was a man of eloquence, that he ruled ten years, and that he came to a melancholy end in 1162.

Then came another man of note, who ruled the diocese for a quarter of a century, and who passed through very troubled waters, *Gilbert Foliot*, the antagonist and rival of Thomas à Becket. St. Paul's was to witness the extraordinary and unprecedented scene of the formal excommunication of an eminent and highly esteemed Bishop of London at his own high altar by a jealous and vindictive Primate. In his *Latin Christianity* Milman thus describes the Bishop: "Foliot was admitted to be a man of unimpeachable life, of austere habits (he was gently rebuked by Pope Alexander III. for fasting too rigorously), and of great learning. He had been Abbot of Gloucester, then Bishop of Hereford (while Bishop of Hereford Becket accused him of aspiring to the Primacy). He was in correspondence with four successive Popes, Celestine II., Lucius II., Eugenius III., Alexander III., and with a familiarity which implies a high estimate of his ability and experience. He is interfering in matters remote from his own diocese, and commending other Bishops, Lincoln and Salisbury, to the favourable consideration of the Pontiff. All his letters reveal a Churchman as imperious and conscientious as Becket himself. Foliot, under

¹ Matt. Paris, *Hist. Minor*, editio Madden, p. 253.

² Wharton.

other circumstances, might have resisted the King as inflexibly. He was, in short, a high and stirring ecclesiastic, who did not scruple to wield, as he had done in several instances, the last terrible weapon of the Church, which in the end fell on his own head."¹

How was the building of the great Cathedral proceeding among all these troubles? In one charge to his diocese, Foliot urged the duty of contributing to the completion of the fabric, begun some eighty years before by Bishop Maurice, and lagging for want of funds. In another, he urges all within his jurisdiction, by the labours, sufferings and glorious successes of their patron Saint Paul, to annual contributions and death-bed legacies. He uses that powerful argument in Roman Christianity for church-building and other pious works: liberal indulgences to the living, and masses for the souls of the dead.²

Reforming opinions were already being preached by certain weavers in the diocese of Worcester. The Bishop of that See wrote to Foliot to ask what he should do. Foliot recounts the opinions of the Fathers on such questions; some were for mercy, some for punishment lest religion should perish, some for imprisoning such people as madmen, some for capital punishment under the Julian law of high treason, some for burning, some (according to St. Augustine) tempered judgment to scourging and other correction short of death. Foliot offered no personal opinion, but recommended reference of the question to a synod of Bishops. He died November 18, 1187.³

¹ Milman's *Latin Christianity*, vol. v. p. 37.

² Giles, *Foliot's Letters*, i. 330.

³ Milman's *Annals*, p. 35. Throughout this chapter I have summarized the *Annals*.

CHAPTER III

THE PAPAL LEGATES

FOLIOT's successor was *Richard de Ely*, or *Fitz Neal*, the son of Nigellus, Bishop of Ely; whether born before or after his father's ordination is uncertain. In 1179, he had been a travelling Justiciary. The King designated him for the Bishopric of London, and summoned the Canons of St. Paul's to Normandy to carry out the election in his presence; as the King was ill, it was deferred from day to day till after his death (December 19, 1188); and the appointment was confirmed by Richard I. Milman calls him the first man of letters on the throne of London, as the author of that famous Dialogue on the Exchequer (*De Scaccario*), which throws vivid light on the history, finances and laws of England. He also wrote a Chronicle called *Tricolumnus* (three columns).

The learned Bishop of London was matched by a learned Dean of St. Paul's, *Radulph de Diceto*. At the coronation of Richard I. at Westminster (September 2, 1189), Foliot being dead and Richard Fitz Neal not yet consecrated, Dean Radulph ministered the holy oil and chrism to the Archbishop. He was the first Dean of St. Paul's of any note, and the first who was a man of letters. His *Imagines Historiæ* and *Abbreviatio Chronicorum* place him high amongst chroniclers. He wrote long and confidential letters on the affairs of the Church, and his opinion was valued both by the King of France and the King of England.

Milman quotes Dean Radulph on the condition of the clergy of his time, and the relation throws a lurid and terrible light on the Church of the twelfth

century: "He rather deprecated the great measure of Gregory VII.—the prohibition of the marriage of the clergy. He condemned especially the licence and encouragement given to the laity to repudiate and despise the Sacraments administered by married ecclesiastics. The Sacraments, he held, had an inherent and inextinguishable virtue, which they did not lose by passing through unworthy hands. They received their mysterious power from the Holy Ghost, and could neither be enhanced by the holiness, nor impaired by the wickedness, of the ministering priest. Few of the clergy, he said, practised continence; some feigned it for the sake of gain or vainglory; on the sin of uncleanness many accumulated perjury and promiscuous adultery. But, worst of all, the laity were tempted to rebel against the clergy, and to throw off all spiritual subjection. The Holy Sacraments were frightfully profaned; marriages celebrated by married priests not held good; tithes paid to such priests wantonly burned. I cannot but suspect that the opinions of the good Dean were in some degree influenced by the state of his own Chapter. There is little doubt that the *focariæ*, so shamefully and cruelly mishandled and imprisoned by the London populace, were, some at least the wives, assuredly the hearth-warmers of the Canons of St. Paul's."¹

Dean Radulph describes a memorable scene which took place in the nave of St. Paul's on October 8, 1191. King Richard was on his Crusade: Prince John, the Archbishop of Rouen and all the Bishops met there for the arraignment of the Chancellor, William de Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, of many atrocious and tyrannous crimes, especially ill-usage of the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Durham.

The episcopate of Richard Fitz Neal (or de Ely) was nearly contemporaneous with the reign of

¹ Milman's *Annals of St. Paul's*, p. 38.

Richard I. ; he died the year before the King, in 1198. He endowed St. Paul's School with the tithes of two of his manors ; and he appointed the celebrated Peter of Blois Archdeacon of London. Peter writes to the Pope that like a dragon he must live on wind, for though London had 40,000 inhabitants and 120 churches, he could get neither tithes, first-fruits nor offerings.

The next Bishop, a Norman, *William de Santa Maria*, was appointed by Richard I. before his death, but his thirty-one years' rule lay chiefly in the dark days of John. He had been Canon of York, Dean of St. Martin's-le-Grand (a magnificent church where the General Post Office now stands) and Canon of St. Paul's. In 1208, he had an awful task to perform, for he was summoned to read the Pope's interdict against the whole realm of England. "He obeyed the mandate, and London with the rest of the kingdom heard the fearful office, which closed all the churches of the land to the devout worshippers, and deprived them of the prayers, the masses, the spiritual blessings and privileges of the Church."¹

The one offender who had roused the vengeance of the Pope against the Church of England (the specially cherished province of the Roman obedience), King John, remained at first untouched. Against him Bishop William had scruples about pronouncing the sentence, and retired for five years to the Continent. The Bishops of Ely and Worcester had been courageous enough to remonstrate against the obstinacy of the King ; they also fled. Then the King, in his fury, began a fierce persecution of the clergy (1209). The sheriffs were ordered to confiscate all the revenues of refractory Bishops and Abbeys : "The clergy might go and complain to their protector the Pope." The demolition of the Bishop of London's feudal castle at Stortford was specially ordered.

¹ Milman's *Annals of St. Paul's*, p. 40.

"The barns of the clergy were closed, and their contents confiscated to the Treasury. The concubines of the clergy were exposed to every insult and ill-usage. So writes Paris, who bitterly adds that the Bishops, London amongst them, were living abroad in luxurious abundance."¹

Bishop William de Santa Maria went with Archbishop Langton to Rome, and with him published the sentence of deposition against King John. On John's submission, he returned to England with Langton, received £750 out of the indemnity awarded to the Bishops for their losses during the exile (representing of course a vastly greater sum according to modern value), and with them was met by their repentant Sovereign. John threw himself at their feet, imploring their mercy on himself and the realm, received absolution, and swore on the Gospels fidelity to the laws of England, and to the Lord Pope, Innocent III. Mass was sung, and was followed by a great banquet, at which King and Bishops met in amity.

Three weeks later, July 20, 1219, a great assemblage was convened in St. Paul's Cathedral, of Prelates, Abbots, Deans, Priors and Barons. During the proceedings the Archbishop led aside some of the more important personages, displayed the old charter of Henry I., solemnly urged them to stand fast for the liberties of England, and pledged himself to their support. The scene at St. Paul's was a prelude to Runnymede; William de Santa Maria's signature is on Magna Carta.

But meantime the Pope veered round, and become the ally of the tyrant. St. Paul's had witnessed the release of the kingdom from the interdict by the Legate, Cardinal Nicolas, Bishop of Tusculum. The Cathedral saw the same Legate ratify and complete the disgraceful scene which had just taken place in the Templars' Church at Dover: the cession of the kingdom as a fief to the Holy See. The King

¹ M. Paris, anno 1208: Milman.

did homage as vassal of the Pope, the Archbishop in vain protesting, privately and in public, and groaning deeply during the ceremony itself. The reign of the Papal Legates had begun.

One more scene before the close of John's infamous reign. At a magnificent mass at St. Paul's, sung by excommunicated prelates and priests, Louis of France was hailed as the Deliverer. Receiving the homage of the citizens of London, he promised to recover to the realm all that had been lost by the pusillanimity of John. It was an unhappy alternative.

Henry III., feeble and inglorious, came to the throne in 1216, and reigned fifty-six years, dying in 1272. The episcopate of Bishop William de Santa Maria lasted till 1221. One of the first acts of the Government was to hold a Council in St. Paul's Cathedral, and to publish the great Charter in a new form (November 6, 1217).¹ On January 26, 1221, Bishop William voluntarily abdicated his See, retaining the power of wearing his episcopal robes in any church to which he might be invited, though his usual dress was that of a canon regular of St. Osyth. A brief from Pope Honorius III. gave permission for this retirement, on a pension, which consisted of three manors.

He was succeeded by *Eustace de Fauconberge*, chiefly distinguished by his descent from one of the old Norman barons, and by the high offices which he had held as King's Justiciary, twice Ambassador in France, and High Treasurer of the realm.

Eustace de Fauconberge was succeeded by *Roger Niger* (the Black), in 1229, described by Matthew Paris as "profound in letters, honourable and praiseworthy in all things, a lover and defender of religion, without pride, venerable for his life, and of admirable sanctity, famous for his knowledge and a perspicuous preacher."

Stowe describes the action of Bishop Roger

¹ Pearson, *Hist. of England*, ii. 121.

against foreign usurers in strong terms: "Roger Niger admonished the usurers of his time to leave such enormities, as they tendered the salvation of their souls, and to do penance for what they had committed. But after he saw they laughed him to scorn, and also threatened him, the Bishop excommunicated and accursed all such, and demanded strictly that such usurers should depart further from the City of London, which had hitherto been ignorant of such mischief and wickedness, lest his diocese should be infected therewithal."¹ In 1230, the people rose and burned the barns and warehouses of the foreigners. The Bishop's hostile attitude to the usurers offended the Pope, under whose protection they lived, and he was compelled to journey to Rome to defend his conduct, nor did he return without a heavy fine. Nothing daunted, he again excommunicated the money-lenders, and was once more involved in troubles with Rome, where they obtained full freedom for plunder.

In 1232, St. Paul's Cathedral witnessed the humiliating scene of a Papal Legate occupying his throne as Dictator over the Clergy of England, with the Bishops and Abbots at his feet. The Legate was Otho the White, Cardinal Deacon of St. Nicolas in Carcere Tulliano, who had been invited by King Henry III., now entirely controlled by the foreigners in his Court, and by a faction of prelates headed by Peter de la Roche, Bishop of Winchester. The Primate, Edmund Rich, had remonstrated in the strongest language, moved by indignation at the growing exactions of the Pope. A more serious cause of complaint was the filling of the richer benefices in England with foreign, chiefly Italian, Churchmen. In earlier days, Rich had sided with Becket against King Henry II.; now he frequently remonstrated with Henry III. for his weakness, subservience and injustice. Finally, like Becket, he fled into exile.

The Legate had been received with the utmost

¹ Strype's *Stowe*, vol. ii. p. 119.

honours. Great bales of scarlet cloth met him at Paris. On the English shore the King met him and did homage. He was loaded with still more costly gifts—palfreys, precious vessels, soft and rich vestments, furs; fifty fat oxen, a hundred measures of fine flour, eight casks of the choicest wines were sent by the Bishop of Winchester.

The Legate ordered a lofty platform to be erected in the nave of St. Paul's; the choir was not yet finished. Here he summoned before him the two Archbishops and all their suffragans, with the Abbots, Priests and Proctors from monasteries and chapters. After the sermon, the Legate promulgated the canons which were to form the law of the Church in England.

Some of these were strong against the married clergy, and against the abuse by which benefices, as was common in those days, descended from father to son; and on the dress of the clergy, which had become military rather than ecclesiastical. Otho's Constitutions were before many years superseded by those of another Papal Legate, Cardinal Ottobuoni.

Bishop Roger earnestly pushed forward the lagging work of the completion and endowment of his vast Cathedral. But the magnificence of the fabric exhausted his resources and those of the Diocese. During the episcopate of his five successors, briefs were issued to the whole of England to ask alms for this great national work, to be repaid by proportional Indulgences.¹ When we admire our sublime cathedrals, amongst other reasons, as monuments of an age of faith now passed away, it is but just to remember this amazing method of providing for their cost. The system culminated in the building of St. Peter's at Rome, when Tetzels sale of this strange ecclesiastical commodity awoke the spirit of Luther, and brought the Reformation to birth.²

¹ Newcourt's *London, Life of Roger*.

² I am indebted to Milman for the information in this chapter.

CHAPTER IV

THE PAPAL LEGATES (*continued*)

AFTER the death of Bishop Roger Henry III. tried to force Peter, Bishop of Hereford, into the vacant See. The Canons, however, proceeded to the election of *Fulk Basset*, of Norman descent, Dean of York. The dispute was not settled for three years, and was ended by the consecration of Fulk Basset on October 29, 1244. In less than two years the new Bishop was called to enforce the tyrannical demand made by Pope Innocent IV., of one-third of their ecclesiastical income from the resident clergy, half from the non-resident. In consequence, Bishop Fulk held a Council at St. Paul's, when it appeared that the Pope's new exaction was too much even for the obsequious Henry III., in whose name appeared Sir John de Lexington and Master Lawrence of St. Martin's, the King's clerk, absolutely prohibiting compliance. A noteworthy reply was returned to Rome: "If the Pope had known the state and condition of the kingdom of England, he would never have promulgated such a Statute. In cathedral churches it was the usage that non-resident Canons performed their functions by minor Canons. If half their revenues were cut off, the duties of the Cathedral could not be performed, as they could not maintain the minor Canons, nor with so large a portion of their income in default could they themselves reside. After deducting the expenses of collection and other burdens, hardly a fourth part would remain. So would hospitality altogether become impossible; alms to the poor would cease; those who could not dig and were ashamed to beg, would perish with

hunger, or take to robbery and pillage.”¹ The remonstrance ended with a significant appeal to a General Council shortly to be held. The Pope was going so far as to rebuke Henry III. for making grants to Bishops and Barons, “to the grave prejudice of the Roman Church, to which the kingdom of England is well known to belong, and to the enormous injury of the same kingdom.”²

In 1250, Bishop Fulk was brought into violent antagonism with the Primate, Boniface of Savoy, the very unclerical uncle of the Queen, Eleanor of Provence. The Bishop of London was involved in the excommunication of the Dean and Chapter. On the appeal of the Dean of St. Paul’s to the Pope, the excommunication was suspended. But Boniface himself proceeded in great pomp to Rome. The uncle of the Queen of England, and now wealthy Primate, could not but obtain favour with Innocent. The Dean of St. Paul’s was compelled to submit to the supreme archiepiscopal authority.”³

A third contest in which Bishop Fulk was involved was in 1255, with another Legate, the Gascon Rustand, who at a Council at St. Paul’s demanded a full tenth on England, Scotland, and Ireland. Fulk Basset is described by Matthew Paris as a “man noble, and of great generosity; though he once stumbled, he had been the anchor and shield of stability to the whole kingdom.”⁴

The next Bishop was a pluralist on a heroic scale, *Henry de Wingham*, or Wengham, who was Lord Chancellor when the See became vacant. He was obliged to take priest’s orders in order to qualify himself for the Bishopric. He had Papal licence to hold the Deanery of St. Martin’s-le-Grand in

¹ M. Paris, A.D. 1246; Wilkins’ *Concilia*, i. 686.

² *MS. Brit. Mus.*, vol. iv. p. 73.

³ Milman’s *Annals*, p. 57; Matt. Paris, A.D. 1241-4, 1250, 1256; *MS. Brit. Mus.*, vi. 347, 383; vol. vii. 16, 57; *ibid.*, A.D. 1242.

⁴ Wharton, p. 94.

London, the Chancellorship of Exeter, a prebend of Salisbury, and all his other parsonages, even benefices. A month after obtaining this decree, De Wingham, as Bishop of London, petitioned to hold all these preferments, with the See for five years. He does not seem to have ceased to be Chancellor; but death stepped in, and in less than three years stripped him of everything (1259-1262).

During the vacancy on the death of De Wingham, a Bull of Pope Urban IV. was read at Paul's Cross, absolving Henry III. from the oaths which he had taken to observe the provisions of the Parliament of Oxford. Orders were sent to the Chapter of St. Paul's to elect an Italian, John de Ebulo, to the Deanery; on the resistance of the Canons, the case was entrusted to the decision of a Cardinal; De Ebulo was satisfied with a Canonry and certain pensions.¹ Paul's Cross, it should be here noted, had become the place for the publication both of civil and ecclesiastical edicts, and of assembly for the citizens of London on their own affairs. The story of Paul's Cross, however, is of such importance that it should be told in a separate chapter.

The successor of Henry de Wingham was *Henry de Sandwith*, elected November 12, 1262. Richard Talbot, Dean of St. Paul's, had previously been elected, but died on the day of his confirmation. The new Bishop needed long journeys to perform the steps necessary to his appointment, as he had to seek the King in France, and the Primate, Boniface, in Savoy, and was not consecrated till May, 1263. With the Mayor FitzThomas and the citizens of London, he joined Simon de Montfort and the Barons in the great rising in defence of the liberties of England. A new Legate, Ugo Falcodi, who had been dispatched from Rome to deal with the disturbed state of the country, to restore the

¹ *MS. Brit. Mus.*, A.D. 1264.

authority of the King and Pope, and to annul the Provisions of Oxford, was arrested at Boulogne, and forbidden to cross the Channel. He had already launched his excommunication against the Cinque Ports and the City of London, when he was summoned to Rome to become Pope under the title of Clement IV. He never forgot the rebuff which he had received at Boulogne, and in 1265 suspended Henry de Sandwith. "In the following year, the Bishop of London and three other prelates were solemnly excommunicated at Northampton." The Pope ratified the ban. Summoned to Rome, he returned in 1273, to die.

Yet another Legate arrives. "It was during the absence of Bishop Sandwith at Rome, after the battle of Evesham, and the death of Simon de Montfort, at the close of the Barons' War, that the Cardinal Legate Ottobuoni appeared in the greatest pomp at St. Paul's, having summoned all the prelates and dignitaries of the first and second orders throughout the realm. There, in the Cathedral of the metropolis, he promulgated and caused to be read, in the presence of a great multitude, the famous Constitutions. These Constitutions, enlarging and confirming those of Cardinal Otho, became the code of ecclesiastical law in England for several centuries, down to the Reformation. The code was fully and distinctly proclaimed in all its solemnity. The Legate is said to have heard with patience the objections and appeals of the assembled ecclesiastical Parliament or Council. The Legate assumed, in the name of the Pope, full legislative powers, not only over England, but over Wales, Scotland and Ireland."¹

The next Bishop, *John de Chishull*, was, like Henry de Wingham, an example of pluralism. He had been Provost of Beverley, Archdeacon of London,

¹ Milman's *Annals*, p. 64.

Dean of St. Paul's, High Treasurer and Chancellor of the Exchequer. He fell into ill-health, and Archbishop Peckham entrusted his patronage partly to the Dean and Treasurer of St. Paul's, partly to the Archdeacon of Colchester. He was Bishop during seven years, from 1273 to 1280.

The Canons, who seem on this occasion to have been left in peace, elected Fulk Lovel, Archdeacon of Colchester, another pluralist. On the same day he refused the Bishopric, alleging bodily weakness and scruples of conscience. Archbishop Peckham, in a letter, rebuked the Archdeacon for his modesty, or his interested motives. He was said to hold no less than twenty benefices.

On the refusal of Fulk Lovel, *Richard de Gravesend* was appointed, and held the See for twenty-three years, from 1280 to 1303. In his time the Dean of St. Paul's, *William de Montfort*, was appointed to represent the clergy before Edward I. in their resistance to his demand of the moiety of their income as a subsidy. Hardly had he spoken, when he fell dead at the King's feet. In place of the exactions of the Pope the clergy now had to put up with the exactions of the King.

The Bishop died December 9, 1306.

During the fifty-six years of the fourteenth century which elapsed from the death of Bishop Richard de Gravesend to that of Bishop Michael de Northburg in 1362, nearly at the end of the reign of Edward III., seven Bishops occupied the See of London, but left little mark. Most of them were benefactors to the Bishopric and the Cathedral, but the annals of St. Paul's are barren of great events. No thanksgiving is recorded for Crecy or Poitiers. *Bishop Ralph de Baldock* (1306-1313) had been Dean of St. Paul's, was Lord Chancellor, and wrote a history of Great Britain from the earliest times to his own day, which had been seen by Leland, and a book on the Statutes and Customs

of St. Paul's.¹ In his time (1307) the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's presented a petition for the canonization of Hugh Grostete, Bishop of Lincoln;² and a Provincial Council about the Templars met in St. Paul's (1309); the Bishop afterwards sat in judgment on them. *Gilbert de Segrave*, a theological writer, held the See only four years (1313-1317); *Richard de Newport* only one. *Stephen de Gravesend* (1339-1398) was nephew of Bishop Richard. He afterwards protested against the right of the Archbishop of Canterbury to hold a visitation of St. Paul's, and carried his appeal to Rome, but unsuccessfully.

On the deposition of Edward II., Bishop Stephen refused to admit the justice of the sentence, and was ill-used by the populace for his fidelity. After the death of the unhappy King (September 21, 1327), Edmond, Earl of Kent (son of Edward I. by Margaret of France), William, Archbishop of York, and Bishop Stephen were accused of conspiring to spread rumours that he was still alive; Edmond was beheaded, and the prelates were convicted of high treason, and only pardoned in 1336 by Act of Parliament.

Great interest attaches to *Simon of Sudbury* (Bishop from 1362 to 1375), as showing an early glimmer of reforming opinions. He had spent many years at the Papal Court at Avignon, under Innocent VI., the best and greatest of the Avignon Popes, when the Papal Court "had thrown off, for a time at least, its evil fame for unrivalled profligacy."³ Simon had been chaplain to the Pope, and was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1375 to 1381. Wharton quotes William Chartham, a monk of Canterbury, to the effect that in the midst of a vast multitude of pilgrims wending their way in profound devotion to the shrine of St. Thomas in Canterbury, the Bishop rebuked them

¹ Wilkins, ii. p. 237.

² *Ibid.*, 304.

³ Milman's *Annals*, p. 72.

for their superstitious folly, and told them that their hopes of the promised plenary indulgence were vain and idle. Reproaches were heaped upon Sudbury by the extreme ecclesiastical party of his day, who said that his murder was a just judgment for his lenity to the Wycliffites. He was beheaded on Tower Hill by the rabble in Wat Tyler's rebellion, in his capacity of Chancellor. He died imploring the mercy of God on his assassins.

CHAPTER V

THE COMPLETION OF OLD ST. PAUL'S¹

THIS is the proper place to give an account of the progress of the Norman and Gothic building till it was finished about the end of the thirteenth century, in the reign of Edward I.

Nearly two hundred years passed from the foundation-stone of Bishop Maurice (about A.D. 1086) to the final triumph. Meantime pointed architecture had been evolved out of Norman, and in its turn increased in charm. "The Quire was not thought beautiful enough," says Dugdale, "though in uniformity of building it suited with the Church; so that, resolving to make a better, they began with the steeple, which was finished in A.D. 1221; and then going on with the Quire, according to the like form of architecture, perfected it in 1240."² As at Lincoln, the choir grew in splendour of design as years passed, the finest compartments dating from an addition begun eastwards.

The repairs of the rest of the building seem meanwhile to have made but little progress, for in 1255, one hundred and twenty years after the fire of King Stephen, Bishop Fulk Basset "issued letters hortatory, to stir up the people to liberal contributions, because that the Church of St. Paul was in time past so shattered by tempests, that the whole roof thereof seemed very ruinous."³ In consequence of this appeal the roof was made good, and the Cathedral, as Dugdale says, was

¹ For a full account see Longman's *Three Cathedrals of St. Paul's*, to which this chapter is necessarily indebted.

² *Ibid.*, p. 12.

³ Dugdale, p. 14.

then lengthened eastward "by the whole extent of that which now bears the name of St. Faith's Church."¹

At length, about the year 1283, the Cathedral must have been nearly completed, for "about this time it seems that the main brunt was over."² The pavement of what was called "the New Work," namely, east from the steeple, "made of good and firm marble which cost fivepence the foot" was laid down in 1312, and "within three years afterwards a great part of the spire of timber, covered with lead, being weak and in danger of falling, was taken down, and a new cross, with a pommel, large enough to contain ten bushels of corn, well gilt, set on the top thereof by Gilbert de Segrave, then Bishop of London, with great and solemn procession, and relics of saints were placed within it."³ This lofty and most magnificent spire (reputed at that time to be the highest in the world), rose from the centre of a great stone tower.

The difficulty of raising the money was considerable, though the area of contributions included Scotland and Ireland as well as England. "I shall now demonstrate," says Dugdale, "how most of the charge in carrying on so great a work became supported, which, in brief, was by the alms of good people, throughout both the realms of England and Ireland, whose fervent devotion to the advancement of God's service incited them most willingly to further all works of this nature."⁴ They were stirred to this by letters of indulgence, "and that this was the way by which they herein proceeded to raise monies, the sundry letters of the several Bishops of both nations to the clergy under their charge, for recommendation of the business to their particular congregations is most evident; a multitude whereof I have seen and read" (a boxfull of these is still preserved at St. Paul's): "by which

¹ *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 17.

² Dugdale, p. 15.

⁴ Dugdale, pp. 12, 13.

letters there are indulgences extending to a certain number of days for such penance as they had injunction to perform." "Nay, not only the contributors to this glorious structure were thus favoured, but the solicitors for contributions and the very mechanics themselves who laboured therein."¹

The Cathedral group of buildings was surrounded by a wall of considerable extent. "The citizens claimed the east part of the churchyard to be the place of assembly to their folk-motes, and that the great steeple there situate was to that use their common bell, which being there rung, all the inhabitants of the City might hear and come together. They also claimed the west side, that they might there assemble themselves together, with the Lord of Baynard's Castle, for the view (review) of their armour (armed bands) in defence of the City."²

The wall seems not to have been completed till the year 1285. "Upon information made to King Edward I., that by the lurking of thieves and other bad people, in the night time, within the precincts of the Churchyard, divers robberies, homicides and fornications had been committed therein; for the prevention of the like for the future, the said King, by his patent bearing date at Westminster 10th June, in the thirteenth year of his reign, to the honour of God and Holy Church, and of those saints whose bodies were buried therein, as also for the better security of the Canons and officers belonging thereto, granted unto the said Dean and Canons licence to enclose the said Churchyard with a wall on every side, with fitting Gates and Postern thereto, to be opened every morning and closed every night."

¹ Dugdale, p. 15.

² Stow's *Survey*, i. 369. For the account of the Wall, see Longman, p. 15; Milman, p. 155; and Simpson's *Chapters*, p. 62.

The most remarkable appendage to the Cathedral was the extremely beautiful parish church of St. Faith, in the crypt. "At the west end of this Jesus Chapel, under the Choir of St. Paul's, also was a Parish Church of St. Faith, commonly called St. Faith's under St. Paul's, which served for the stationers and others dwelling in St. Paul's Churchyard, Paternoster Row and the places near adjoining." The Church of St. Faith-the-Virgin was originally above ground, and Jesus Chapel was attached to it. The four great bells belonging to this chapel were hung in a bell-tower on the eastern side of the churchyard. "The bells and the image of St. Paul on the top of the spire were all standing till Sir Miles Partridge, Knight, *temp.* Henry VIII., having won them from the King at one cast of the dice, pulled them down."¹ The Church of St. Faith above ground was demolished in 1256 to enlarge the Cathedral, and part of the undercroft or crypt granted to the parishioners. Jesus Chapel was still attached to it, but structurally divided till 1551, when the partition was removed.

"The Parish Church of St. Gregory was built up against the Cathedral at the south-west corner. It was probably in the Norman style, and was removed before 1645; notwithstanding a petition from the parishioners against its demolition,² the church was pulled down in regard it was thought to be a blemish to the stately Cathedral whereunto it adjoined."³

Mr. Ferrey, the architect, has made a very careful calculation of the measurements of Old St. Paul's from ancient surveys in the time of Edward II., and by Hollar. He makes the breadth 104 feet, the height of the roof (west of the choir screen, and up to the ridge of the vaulting), 93 feet; height

¹ Dugdale, p. 130.

² *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, pp. 218, 408; 1637, June 15.

³ Dugdale, p. 147.

of the roof (up to the vault ridge) in the choir proper, 101 feet 6 inches; height of roof in the Lady Chapel (the farthest east), 98 feet 6 inches; external height of choir, 142 feet; external height of nave, 130 feet; height of the central tower from the ground, 285 feet; additional height of spire, 208 feet; so that the height of the whole central steeple was nearly 500 feet.

Such was the building, vast, lofty, of enormous length and incomparable beauty, which soared above the City of London in the old days. It had been called "the glory of all Christian lands," and it would have been difficult to surpass it in the dignity of architecture, in the richness of its historical association, and in the splendour and interest of its monuments. The streets were narrow and picturesque, the houses timbered and gabled, the tide of life busy and constant, the dresses of the citizens full of colour and variety; above all this the huge and glorious building must have towered with inconceivable impressiveness, whether on a sunny afternoon, or above the blue mists that filled the streets from the river, or under the mystery of moonlight. It is no depreciation of the perfection of Wren's creation, to lament the lost magnificence of the past.

CHAPTER VI

THE DAYS OF WYCLIFFE

WYCLIFFE was born about 1324 and died in 1384, aged about sixty. When the new Bishop of London, *William de Courtenay*, was appointed in 1375, the illustrious reformer would be a little over fifty, and had already become conspicuous by his opinions on Papal tributes, the holding of temporal authority and temporal possessions by ecclesiastical persons, and the withholding of tithes and oblations from unworthy pastors. Bishop Courtenay (as we may call him) was the great-grandson of Edward I., his father Hugh, second Earl of Devon, having married Lady Margaret Bohun, daughter of Humphrey, Earl of Hereford (Lord High Constable) and of Lady Elizabeth Plantagenet, daughter of that king. He was a Churchman of the loftiest and boldest views, and of the most inflexible temper. Milman describes him as of the imperial house of Courtenay. The claim is not strong. His ancestor in the fifth degree had a nephew on the French side, a sister's son, named Peter, who became by marriage Emperor of Constantinople, in its decadent state, in 1217. Peter had been succeeded in turn by his two sons, Baldwin and Peter; but the latter was expelled by the Emperor Michael Palæologus in 1261; so that these distant connections held the shadowy throne only a little over forty years, through two female links, and were not Courtenays.

In his very first year Courtenay showed his immense courage. Edward III., who died the year after, demanded in 1376 a subsidy from the clergy for the expense of his wars. In full convocation at

St. Paul's, the Bishop protested against the grant, till the grievances of the clergy and certain wrongs of himself and the Bishop of Worcester should be redressed; and the clergy refused the King.

It was before this haughty ecclesiastic that Wycliffe had to appear: "the earliest champion of religious freedom, the rude apostle of principles which, matured, refined and harmonized, were to make a religious revolution in half Europe, to establish the Church of England as an important branch of the great Catholic Church of Christendom; a revolution which was not confined to any time, to any province, to any nation of the Christian world."¹

Milman describes the scene, one of the most memorable that ever took place in St. Paul's, in his *History of Latin Christianity*. "Wycliffe, exactly at this time, between the dissolution of the last Parliament and the death of the King, appears summoned to answer at St. Paul's before the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, for opinions deserving ecclesiastical censure. . . . These may be conjectured from those submitted to the Pope, and afterwards brought against him by the Papal mandate. Wycliffe stood before the tribunal, but not alone. He was accompanied by John of Gaunt and the Lord Percy, now Earl Marshal. There was an immense throng to witness this exciting spectacle; Wycliffe could not make his way through. The Earl Marshal assumed the authority of his office to compel the crowd to recede. The Bishop of London, no doubt indignant at the unlooked-for appearance of the nobles, resented the exercise of the Earl Marshal's power in his Church. He haughtily declared that if he had known how Percy would act, he would have inhibited his entrance into the Cathedral. The Duke of Lancaster, in his pride, rejoined that, despite the Bishop, the Earl Marshal would use

¹ Milman's *Annals*, p. 76.

the authority necessary to maintain order. They reached with difficulty the court in the Lady Chapel. The Earl Marshal demanded a seat for Wycliffe. 'He had many things to answer; he needed a soft seat.' 'It is contrary,' answered Courtenay, 'to law and reason that one cited before his Ordinary should be seated.' Fierce words ensued between the Earl Marshal and the Bishop. The Duke of Lancaster taunted the family pride of Courtenay. The Bishop replied with specious humility, 'that he trusted not in man but in God alone, who would give him boldness to speak the truth.' Lancaster was overheard, or thought to be overheard, as if he threatened to drag the Bishop out of the Church by the hair of his head. The populace was inflamed by the insult to the Bishop, and the insult to the City of London. The privileges of the City were supposed to be menaced by the Earl Marshal's assumption of authority within the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor. (Lancaster was afterwards accused of a design to abolish the Lord Mayor, and to appoint a captain under the Crown; and that the Earl Marshal's power should be current in the City as in other parts of the Kingdom. Lancaster did turn out the Lord Mayor and Aldermen and appoint others. He also made an attack on the revenues and property of the generous and popular William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester.) A wild tumult began. The proceedings were broken up: Wycliffe, who all along had stood silent, retired. Lancaster and the Earl Marshal had doubtless sufficient force to protect their persons. But throughout the City the populace rose; (they were by no means in favour of the reforming and anti-prelatical Duke of Lancaster); they attacked his magnificent palace, the Savoy; his arms were reversed, like those of a traitor. The palace, but for the Bishop of London, would have been burned down. A luckless clergyman, mistaken for the Earl Marshal, was brutally

murdered. The Duke fled to Kennington, where the Princess of Wales was residing with her young son. (She was Joan, the Fair Maid of Kent, daughter of Edmund of Woodstock, Earl of Kent, fifth son of Edward I.) The rioters were appeased by a message from the Princess; but they demanded that the Bishop of Winchester and Peter de la Mare should have their fair and immediate inquest before their peers, according to the laws of the land."¹ Wycliffe's subsequent conflicts with Courtenay (as Archbishop) were at Oxford, at Lambeth, and at the London Monastery of Grey Friars.

In Wat Tyler's rebellion in 1381, St. Paul's and Bishop Courtenay were unmolested, though the Temple, the Savoy, and the great house of the Knights Hospitallers at St. John's, Clerkenwell, were in flames, and Archbishop Sudbury was murdered on Tower Hill. Courtenay was his successor both in the Primacy and the Chancellorship.

The new Bishop of London was *Robert de Braybroke*, promoted by a Bull of Pope Urban VI., and consecrated in the chapel at Lambeth Palace (January 5, 1382). King Richard II. was, in 1387, received in great pomp by the Lord Mayor, Sir Nicholas Exton, and escorted to the Cathedral. He was to feast after the service at the house of Sir Nicholas Brember, Lord Chief Justice; and never again to visit St. Paul's, but as a corpse. In the struggle between Richard and his Parliament, De Braybroke took the popular side, and tried with all his famous eloquence to persuade the King to take his uncle, Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, and the Barons who acted with Gloucester, into favour; and denounced the Duke of Ireland, the King's favourite, as his seducer from all good. In 1391, the Bishop of London acted as a mediator between King and City. The City had refused to lend the King money, and had incurred the forfeiture of their

¹ Milman's *History of Latin Christianity*.

privileges. A riot and scenes of violence followed; De Braybroke, on account of his influence in making this peace, was much honoured by the citizens during his life.

In 1395, De Braybroke, with Arundel, Archbishop of York, at the request of the Primate, crossed the Sea to the King in Ireland, to obtain powers against the Lollards. The Lollards had advanced so far as to fix on the doors of St. Paul's twelve articles against existing practices and doctrines: the existing priesthood, the celibacy of the clergy, transubstantiation, prayers for the dead, pilgrimages, and other usages which they denounced.

In 1399 appeared in St. Paul's Henry of Bolingbroke (called after the place of his birth in Lincolnshire), afterwards Henry IV., eldest son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, to mourn over the tomb of his father, who had died and been buried in the Cathedral that year, and offer prayers for the dethronement of his ill-fated cousin, and for the success of his own schemes.

Next year the body of Richard II. lay in state three days in St. Paul's after his murder in Pontefract Castle. Seventy years before there had been doubts as to the death of Edward II. under like circumstances; this ceremony was to avoid all uncertainty. It was attended by the utmost pomp, and by prodigal oblations from King and Lords; the body passed on to Westminster, then to Langley, and was finally buried in the Abbey.

De Braybroke, who lived through these troublous times, and died in 1405, was a vigorous reformer of abuses. "He issued a strong rebuke against working on Sundays and Feast-days; especially against shoemakers and cobblers. A prohibition was read at Paul's Cross against barbers shaving on Sundays."¹ There was also the Chapter. "Not thirty years before, King Edward III. had promulgated a tremendous censure against the Dean

¹ Wilkins, vol. iii. p. 218.

and Chapter of St. Paul's, even against the Bishop (Sudbury), whom it charged with negligence, if not connivance, in the wicked abuses in the Church of St. Paul, which had been founded and heaped with benefactions by his royal ancestors. Their refectory had become the resort of base mechanics, their inner chambers no better than hired brothels. Where there used and ought to be the daily maintenance and sustentation of the ministry in holy worship, were all kinds of foul and abominable acts of laymen. The very sacred vessels and ornaments were pilfered and held up for sale. Worse than these abuses, revenues designed for this sacred purpose were wasted, or unequally distributed; some were rolling in affluence, others were miserably poor, the chantries and altars were alienated to other uses. The manors and farms were mismanaged. The King ordered that the establishment should be placed on its old footing. The public table was to be restored; the bakehouse, the brewery, which had gone to ruin, were to be rebuilt, the daily ale and bread distributed. The execution of this stern mandate is committed, not to the Bishop, but to the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of the City.

“But not the Chapter only, the Church itself had fallen into grievous disrepute. . . . Bishop de Braybroke issued letters denouncing the profanation of St. Paul's by marketing and trading in the Church itself. He alleges the example of the Saviour, who cast the buyers and sellers out of the Temple. ‘In our Cathedral, not only men, but women also, not on common days alone but especially on festivals, expose their wares as if it was a public market, and buy and sell without reverence for the holy place.’ More than this—the Bishop dwells on more horrid abuses. ‘Others, too, by the instigation of the devil, do not scruple with stones and arrows to bring down the birds, pigeons and jackdaws which nestle in the walls and crevices of the build-

ing; others play at ball or at other unseemly games, both within and without the Church, breaking the beautiful and costly painted windows to the amazement of the spectators.' The Bishop threatens these offenders, if they do not desist on monition from these irreverent practices, to visit them with the greater excommunication."¹

De Braybroke, who died in 1405, was buried before the high altar of St. Paul's; his body was found entire after the Great Fire; more than 260 years after. It is said that after his death the Mayor, Aldermen and many chief citizens, according to their Companies, went nine times a year in a solemn procession to his burial place, to pray for his soul.²

His successor, *Roger de Walden*, held prebends at Salisbury, Exeter and St. Paul's, was Archdeacon of Winchester, Treasurer of Calais, Secretary to King Richard II., and Lord High Treasurer. During an exile of the Primate, Archbishop Arundel, the Pope nominated him Archbishop of Canterbury, and he appears to have been enthroned. Arundel, however, was reinstated, and after waiting five years De Walden was made Bishop of London.

Archbishop Arundel held almost annual Convocations in St. Paul's.³ It was in St. Paul's that he pronounced the first capital sentence under the terrible writ *De Hæretico comburendo* (on the Duty of Burning Heretics), which he had extorted from the grateful King and obsequious Parliament. The first martyr of Wycliffism was William Sautree, a priest. In the same Convocation in St. Paul's, John Purvey, who had been almost a successor to Wycliffe, made a recantation of seven opinions: (1) Denial of transubstantiation; (2) Denial of auricular confession; (3) Assertion of predestina-

¹ Wilkins, vol. iii.; Milman's *Annals*, p. 83.

² Kennet, *Life of Richard II.*, p. 269.

³ Wilkins, vol. iii. p. 282.

tion; (4) Assertion that clergymen of evil life cannot hold the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; (5) Assertion that every clergyman ought to preach the Gospel to the people with or without the Bishop's licence; (6) Against monastic vows of celibacy, and all such vows; (7) Assertion that the Lateran Council (under Innocent III.) was without authority.¹

An equally unimportant successor followed De Walden. *Nicholas Bubwith* had been Master of the Rolls, Privy Seal and Lord High Treasurer; he exchanged the See of London for Salisbury. The next Bishop, *Robert Clifford* (1407-1421), had the distinction of appearing as the representative of the English Church at the great Council of Constance in A.D. 1416. During his time, Archbishop Chicheley held Convocations at St. Paul's with even greater regularity; or the records have been better kept. On King Henry V.'s return from Agincourt, by Chicheley's order, a *Te Deum* was sung at St. Paul's, and a magnificent procession organized from the Cathedral to Westminster. Later on, the Primate addressed a mandate to the Bishop of London, ordering processions and prayers for the success of the King in France, especially against the wicked designs of the necromancers, who were conspiring against his life: his health was already failing. Trials for heresy are now mentioned from time to time. At that of John Claydon, a Skinner of the City of London, in the Chapter House, the Lord Mayor was present. At that of Richard Walker, the culprit, accused of magic, appeared at Paul's Cross, and after an exhortation from the Bishop of Llandaff, solemnly abjured all such arts. His two books were hung, wide open, one on his head, one on his back; and with a special cap on his head he walked all along Cheapside. On his return his books were burned before his face, and he was released.² King Henry V. died at Vincennes,

¹ Milman's *Annals*.

² Wilkins, vol. iii. p. 394.

August 31, 1422, and one of the most magnificent and picturesque pageants ever seen at St. Paul's was his lying-in-state and funeral.

On Clifford's death, the Canons of St. Paul's, lawfully assembled by royal licence, chose for their prelate Thomas Polton, Bishop of Hereford. But Pope Martin V., who had brought Christendom back to an undivided Papacy at Rome, and was determined that no weakening of the specially close tie between England and the Holy See should be imagined, named *John Kemp*, Bishop of Chester, for London. The claim was admitted, and Thomas of Hereford was promoted to Chester. Next year, Bishop Kemp crossed the Channel as one of the Council of the Regent Duke of Bedford, who was administering the conquests of Henry V. From 1426 to 1432 Kemp was Lord Chancellor, and was then advanced to the Archbishopric of York.

The Pope appointed his successor, *William Gray* (1426-1431), who, after four years, was translated to Lincoln, then a richer See.

Robert FitzHugh, the next Bishop (1431-1436), was Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and in that capacity made a famous speech, much admired for its Latinity. He had been Ambassador at Venice, and as Bishop of London represented England at the Council of Basel. Elected by the monks to be Bishop of Ely, he died before his translation.

Robert Gilbert was Bishop from 1436-1448. He was appointed by the University of Oxford to examine the suspected writings of Wycliffe, and by the Pope to the somewhat awkward post of Conservator of the liberties of the University against the encroachments of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

CHAPTER VII

THE WARS OF THE ROSES

HENRY VI. reigned from 1422 to 1461, and saw during that time five Bishops of London: John Kempe, Gray, FitzHugh, Gilbert and *Thomas Kempe*. Thomas was Bishop thirty years (1450-1480), and lived through the struggle of the Houses of Lancaster and York, or the Wars of the Roses, to the fourth year of Henry VII. He was nephew of John Kempe, who had been promoted to York, and afterwards to Canterbury. His predecessor's death or resignation had been expected for two years; and the Minister of the day had procured from Pope Nicolas V. a provisor that the succession should be secured to Kempe, Archdeacon of Richmond. In the meantime De la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, had become ascendant at Court, and he applied to Rome to set aside Kempe in favour of the Bishop of Carlisle. Bishop Gilbert died in 1448, and Thomas Kempe's consecration was delayed till next year. It took place in the chapel of York House (afterwards Whitehall), at the hands of his uncle, John Kempe, Archbishop of York.

The fluctuating fortunes of these terrible times were strongly felt in the Cathedral. Here Roger Bolingbroke, necromancer, accused of aiding by diabolic magic the ambitious designs of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, the popular brother of Henry V., and Regent during the minority of Henry VI., was exhibited on a platform in front of the building, together with Southwell, a canon of St. Paul's, his accomplice. The penance of Eleanor Cobham.

Duchess of Gloucester, must have begun or ended in or near the Cathedral, when she was led along, wrapped in a sheet, with a burning taper in her hand—

“Mailed up in shame, with papers on my back,
And followed with a rabble, that rejoice
To see my tears, and hear my deep-felt groans.”¹

By an extraordinary blunder in after days Sir John de Beauchamp's tomb in St. Paul's was mistaken for Duke Humphry's, who was in reality buried at St. Albans.

In March, 1452, Richard Duke of York took his oath of fealty in St. Paul's to Henry VI. on the Sacrament, before a numerous assemblage of peers and dignitaries. He was second cousin to Henry V. The oath which he swore is extant; every word condemned him of perjury.

Six years later the oath had been broken, and was to be repaired. In March 1458, the Battle of St. Albans had been fought. “Parliaments and Councils had been held, negotiations endlessly carried on between the contending parties; the poor King had sunk for a time into mental imbecility. He had now recovered. . . . After all this in token of reconciliation, there was a solemn procession to St. Paul's. King Henry and Queen Margaret slept at the Bishop's Palace in the precincts (on the north side of the Cathedral, near the passage known now as London House Yard). The great Lords assembled in the Chapel of that Palace. The King, holding his full Court, surrounded by Yorkists and Lancastrians, sate on a throne. The Archbishop, Bourchier, set the crown on his head. The procession to the Church, preceded by the Archbishop, his cross borne before him by the Bishop of Rochester, was met by the Dean and Chapter. Two and two came those terrible nobles, so soon to meet again in deadly battle—Edmund Beaufort,

¹ *Henry VI.*, Part II., Act II., sc. iv

Duke of Somerset, and the Earl of Salisbury; Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter, and Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick. Then came the poor King, crowned, with the sceptre in his hand. The Queen followed smiling and 'conversing familiarly' with the Duke of York."¹ A ballad is extant, *Concord and Unity*, describing the service of reconciliation.²

Three years later the same oaths had been broken, the same hollow peace patched up, and a like scene is enacted at St. Paul's. "King Henry appeared, still with the crown on his head; but not now with the Queen and half the nobility, or Somerset and Exeter on his side. Somerset had hardly escaped after the defeat at Northampton; Exeter was for the present safe in his own county. The Queen, a fugitive in the north, was busily employed in rallying the depressed Lancastrians. The King was only now accompanied by Salisbury and Warwick. York, Salisbury, Warwick again knelt before the Primate. Bouchier called upon them again to take the oath of fidelity to the King; the oath of allegiance to their prisoner; or to ratify by their homage to the King in the Cathedral the oaths already sworn before the Parliament at Westminster. The Duke of York and his two sons, the Earl of March (afterwards Edward IV.) and young Rutland, swore to maintain the King upon his throne, and not to molest him during his reign. But the succession by the same agreement was to pass away. The Sovereign to whom they swore allegiance had been forced to assent to the decree which, disinheriting his own son, Edward, awarded the succession to the Duke of York. After this humiliating scene, and after evensong, the King withdrew to the Bishop's Palace."

Next year (1461) the gates of St. Paul's are again open. Homage is now claimed by Edward IV., who has come, with Salisbury and Warwick, to

¹ Milman's *Annals*, p. 102.

² *Malcolm*, iii. 151, Cotton Collection.

secure the fruits of the second battle of St. Albans (February 2) and Towton (March 29). He has already been acknowledged by the whole realm as the actual monarch. From early days, St. Paul's has known no politics, but given her religious services to all who had the right to claim them.

Ten years later, in 1471, came Tewkesbury and the murder of young Edward, the hapless Prince of Wales. Again in that year the gates of St. Paul's were thrown open, to receive the dead bodies of Salisbury and Warwick and their brother Montagu. For three days the bodies were exposed, with faces bared, to satisfy the people that these grim war-lords, especially the great King-maker, were really dead.

A week after came the sad spectacle of the body of King Henry VI. himself, lying in state in the Cathedral. He died in the Tower, and the cause of his death has remained a mystery. The Yorkists said it was grief; the Lancastrians muttered darker things as loud as they dared. It was commonly reported that both at St. Paul's and at Blackfriars blood gushed from the dead man's nose; and that was held by the people to signify a violent end; that the murderer was Richard of Gloucester no one doubted in his heart. That was Shakespeare's opinion. In the terrible scene where the ghosts of his murdered victims rise on the night before the Battle of Bosworth and accuse Richard III., that of Henry VI. appears, and says—

“When I was mortal, my anointed body
By thee was punched full of deadly holes;
Think on the Tower and me; despair, and die!
Harry the Sixth bids thee despair, and die!”

The body was afterwards moved towards Chertsey; and, finally, the holy founder of Eton College found fit resting-place at Windsor. In the second scene of the same play, Anne, widow of Henry's son Edward Prince of Wales, in her pathetic lament

over the late King's body as it is moved from the Cathedral, says—

“Come, now, toward Chertsey with your holy load,
Taken from Paul's to be interrèd there;
And still, as you are weary of the weight,
Rest you, while I lament King Henry's corse.”

Richard, as Duke of Gloucester, paid a visit to St. Paul's to offer his orisons when, after the death of Edward IV., before the murder of the young children in the Tower, he came up to London to arrest the family of the Queen, the Greys and Lord Hastings. The seals at this crisis were taken from the Archbishop of York and entrusted to Kempe, Bishop of London.

The next step in the tragedy, as far as St. Paul's was concerned, was the infamous sermon at Paul's Cross, in favour of the usurper, and against the heirs to the crown, by Dr. Shaw, brother of the Lord Mayor. “In that sermon he showered imputations of illegitimacy against all who stood in the way of Richard. The preacher openly asserted the bastardy of all the elder brothers of the House of York, Edward and Clarence. ‘Bastard slips never take deep root.’ Edward and Clarence were born of adultery. The Duchess of York, by his showing, suddenly became virtuous to conceive the Duke of Gloucester. Edward's two sons were certainly bastards, on account of the precontract of Edward (to Lady Butler) before his marriage with Lady Grey (Elizabeth Woodville).”¹

According to Shakespeare, it was in St. Paul's that the indictment against Lord Hastings, one of Richard's victims, was read. It was in St. Paul's that Jane Shore, accused of sorcery by the tyrant, was ordered to do penance, in a white sheet. After his accession, and acknowledgment by Parliament, Richard rode solemnly to “the Cathedral Church of London, and was received there with processions,

¹ Milman's *Annals*, p. 197.

with great congratulation and acclamation of all the people in every place, and by the way that the King was in, that day.”¹

Bishop Thomas Kempe must have been a prudent man. Through the civil wars, the reigns of Henry VI., Edward IV., Edward V., Richard III., down to the fourth year of Henry VII., he remained Bishop of London. Edward IV. protected him against a demand from Rome for 40,000 ducats, alleged to be due from him as Treasurer of the Papal revenues from England. He was able to be munificent; he rebuilt Paul's Cross, which was one of the chief ornaments of the City of London; not the mean structure which fell into decay after the Reformation. The beautiful Divinity School at Oxford also was built at his cost.

Before the close of Kempe's long episcopate, the Primate, Morton, with his suffragans, held a notable Convocation at St. Paul's. “There appeared William Symonds, priest, who confessed before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, that at Oxford he had set up the son of one Originakes as Earl of Warwick, and had conveyed him to Ireland. Symonds made full confession; and at the demand of the Archbishop he was committed by the Mayor and Aldermen to the Tower. King Henry, after his victory over the partisans of Simnel (the pretender), went on two successive days in solemn procession to the Cathedral. On the first day *Te Deum* was sung; on the second there was a sermon at Paul's Cross. The King rode with Lambert Simnel at his side, whose life he spared in contemptuous mercy, and degraded him to a servile office as a scullion in the royal kitchen.”²

¹ The official account, Ellis's *Historical Letters*, 2nd series, vol. i., p. 148.

² Lord Verulam, in Kennet, p. 588; Milman's *Annals*, p. 110.

CHAPTER VIII

THE DAWN OF THE REFORMATION

SOME of the successors of Bishop Kempe are mere names. *Thomas Hill* came in 1489, and died in 1496. He was followed by *Thomas Savage*, who was translated to York in 1501. The wise and learned *William Warham*, whose picture is one of the treasures of Lambeth Palace, was appointed by the Pope in October 1501, was not consecrated till 1502, and became Archbishop in 1503. *William Barons*, or *Barnes*, held the See hardly more than ten months, in 1504 and 1505. *Richard FitzJames* was translated from Chichester in 1506. He had been Warden of Merton College and Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, and is extolled by some of the chroniclers as a man of theological learning and goodness; "one of those high-born Churchmen, piously ignorant and conscientiously blind, with whom a hair's-breadth deviation from established usage and opinion is insolence, sin, and worse than sin—heresy."¹ He held the See till 1522, and had three years of Henry VII., and thirteen of Henry VIII., the period of Colet and Erasmus. *Cuthbert Tunstal* succeeded him, a kind, gentle and blameless prelate; he ruled for seven years, and in 1530 accepted the Bishopric of Durham.

The Churchman of these days who had the greatest influence on his times was *John Colet*, the famous Dean of St. Paul's. He was the son of a wealthy London merchant, Master of the Mercers' Company, and at least twice Lord Mayor of London. John was the sole survivor of twenty-two children; a fact which concentrated on him his father's wealth, and gave a deeply serious tone to

¹ Milman's *Annals*, p. 120.

his mind. He might have risen to eminence in the State by his riches, and by devoting himself to public life; but he had early determined to the service of the Christian faith, went young to Oxford, and then travelled for two or three years in France and Italy. In the midst of the full tide of the classical revival, he gave himself up entirely to the study of Holy Scripture and the early Fathers, showing his originality by breaking free from the exclusive reverence in which Augustine was held in Latin Christendom, and paying no less attention to Origen and Jerome. He returned to Oxford to pursue his studies. He was only in sub-deacon's orders, but according to the easy fashion of the day he held a benefice in Suffolk, and prebends in Salisbury, York and St. Martin's-le-Grand. He began his public career with gratuitous lectures on the writings of St. Paul, simply expounding the Greek text, and explaining the general drift and subtleties of the arguments. "It was the religion of St. Paul expanded in all its grave and solemn simplicity. But the more the veil is drawn from the mind and character of Colet, the more does he stand out as beyond his age. Besides these lectures on St. Paul, certain others on the Book of Genesis have been unearthed among the treasures of the Cambridge Library. If, on St. Paul, Colet rigidly adhered, not to the letter (he was far beyond the notion of verbal inspiration) but to the sense of the Apostle, we find him in a far more free spirit treating the first chapter of Genesis as a noble poem, designed by its author Moses to impress upon a rude and barbarous people the great truths of the creation of the world by the one Omnific God. The description of the successive acts of creation is followed out with singular ingenuity; and these and the periods of time have in his view a profound religious scope, but in themselves are only pious allegories to commend the great internal

truths. I have space only for two passages: 'The day and night were but ingenious figments, not real divisions of time; the resting on the Sabbath-day was partly and chiefly that he might lead the people on to the imitation of God, whom, after the manner of a poet, he had mentioned as working on six days, and resting the seventh, so that they also might devote every seventh day to rest, and to the contemplation of God and of His worship.' According to the theory of Colet, 'Moses, after the manner of a good and pious poet, as Origen against Celsus calls him, was willing to invent some figures, not altogether worthy of God, if only it might be profitable and useful to man; which race of men is so dear to God, that God emptied Himself of His glory, taking the form of a servant, that He might accommodate Himself to the poor heart of man. So all things of God, when given to men, must needs lose something of their sublimity, and be put in a form more palpable and more within the grasp of man. Accordingly the high knowledge of Moses about God and divine things, and the creation of the world, when it came to be submitted to the vulgar apprehension, savoured altogether of the humble and the rustic, so that he had to speak, not according to his own comprehension, but according to the comprehension of the multitude. Thus accommodating himself to their comprehension, Moses endeavoured by this most honest and poetic figure at once to feed them and lead them to the worship of God.'"¹

At Oxford began the friendship between Colet and Erasmus which lasted for life. Erasmus became one of a circle of kindred spirits: Charnock, Head of St. Mary's College; Grocyn, who first taught Greek at Oxford; Linacre the physician, and young Thomas More, the future Chancellor.

In 1503, after nine years in the University since

¹ Seebohm's *Oxford Reformers* and Milman's *Annals*, p. 115.

his return, Colet, who was already Rector of Stepney in the eastern part of the diocese of London, was made Dean of St. Paul's, and took his degree as Doctor of Divinity.

"As Dean of St. Paul's, Colet stood forth among the Churchmen of his day, with almost all the virtues, few, if any, of the common infirmities of his order: unimpeachable blamelessness of life, generous hospitality, not indiscriminate, though profuse, but delighting in a narrow circle, intellectual as well as religious, in which, according to the fashion of the day, theological readings mingled with the cheerful banquet. Those without this pale taunted him of course as niggardly and covetous, prodigal as he was of the emoluments of his office. This revenue was before long to be augmented by the great wealth of his father, which he entirely devoted to objects of public advantage, and to charity. Colet rapidly worked a complete change, not in the ceremonial or ordinary services of the Cathedral, but as introducing a new system of religious instruction. For the first time the pulpit of the Cathedral, or that of Paul's Cross, freely opened the sacred Scriptures to the people. Colet himself preached regularly on every Sunday and holiday, and obtained the aid of the most learned and eloquent preachers of the day, like himself devoted to the study of the sacred writings and their practical application. He adhered to his famous maxim, 'Keep to the Bible and the Apostles' Creed, and let Divines, if they like, dispute about the rest.' He founded a kind of catechetical lecture for the young, in English, which the chronicler Grafton seems to notice as something altogether new."

Colet's famous sermon at the opening of Convocation is still remembered. It was a calm, powerful, deliberate arraignment of the vices of the clergy, and an earnest exhortation to amendment. The subject was "Conformity to this world,

and reformation in newness of mind." The four deadly sins denounced by the Apostle were the pride of life, the lust of the flesh, worldly occupation (the preacher dwelt especially on preferment hunting) and extortionate avarice.

Colet was engaged in building his celebrated school (St. Paul's) on the ground east of the Cathedral, to which he devoted a large part of his patrimonial wealth, endowing it with £30,000 or £40,000 in our money. Bishop FitzJames was filled with the utmost alarm that it was intended to imbue the realm with new, and therefore dangerous, doctrines; he presented to the Primate distinct charges of heresy against the Dean. Warham quietly put these aside without examination or trial. An attempt to arouse Henry VIII. later on against Colet was equally futile. Henry was plunging with youthful ambition into continental wars: Colet, from the pulpit of St. Paul's, preached a bold and powerful sermon against war. The King sent for Colet; instead of rebuke or punishment, he thanked him for the good which he was doing to his people. He, the King, would teach Colet's accusers that they should not assail him with impunity. Colet answered that he would rather surrender his endowments than that any should suffer on his account.

Again, "on Good Friday it was Colet's turn to preach before the King at the Chapel Royal. The King had become more passionately warlike. Colet preached on the victory of Christ. He spoke against wars waged from hate or ambition. Rulers should follow the example of Christ rather than of Cæsar or Alexander. The King again sent for Colet (April 17, 1513); again not to reprimand him, but to consult him 'for the ease of his conscience.' The interview was long: the courtiers watched its issue with undisguised hope. At the close the King said aloud, 'Let every one have his Doctor; this is the Doctor for me.' Latimer says 'that

Colet should have been burned if God had not turned the King's heart to the contrarie.' Colet is said to have preached again, admitting the lawfulness of defensive war."¹

The members of Colet's Cathedral Chapter were not in harmony with him. He left the whole management of the school and its endowments to the Mercers' Company, of which his father was Master. "The Cathedral at that time, as before and after, was a great mart as well as a church. The walls of the nave and the pillars were placarded with advertisements, not only on ecclesiastical matters, but of more worldly character. Men met there in multitudes, and the busy, sometimes loud, hum of business, of barter and sale, was heard, while in the chapels, the aisles, before the altar of the Virgin, before the high altar, masses were being said, and worshippers were kneeling in adoration. Colet does not seem to have interfered to prevent this profanation. We doubt if he had the power over his Chapter to command the suppression of the evil. Over that Chapter he had not certainly the dominant power. He drew up a body of statutes for the Church, rigid, but by no means austere or ascetic. But Colet's statutes were never accepted by the Chapter, nor confirmed by the Bishop. FitzJames was not likely to force on a reluctant Chapter statutes framed by Colet. They were then, and remained ever after, a dead letter."²

In failing health, Colet determined to retire to a monastery, and chose the house of the Carthusians at Sheen. Before he could remove there, he was carried off by his old enemy the sweating sickness at the age of fifty-three. Erasmus, in a famous letter to Justus Jodocus, describes, with heartfelt eloquence, the two most perfect Christians of his time; one of them was John Colet.

¹ Milman's *Annals*, p. 122.

² Milman's *Annals*, p. 123.

CHAPTER IX

THE INTERIOR OF OLD ST. PAUL'S¹

THE time chosen by Dr. Sparrow Simpson for his charming description of a walk inside the old Cathedral is 1510, before the Reformation, when the mediæval ritual and arrangements were still complete. The west end has three stately portals, the middle one of which is divided by a great pillar of brass, to which the leaves of the great door are fastened. On the left, as we enter the sublime nave, is the Court of Convocation, at the second bay. Not far is the font, near which Sir John Montacute desired to be buried, "wherein he was baptized." At the sixth bay are two small doors, north and south, offering dangerous facilities for a thoroughfare. A notice against the north door runs thus—

"All those who shall enter within the Church dore
With Burthen or Basket must give to the Poore:
And if there be any aske what they must pay
To this Box, 'tis a penny ere they pass away."

The whole space between the columns of the tenth bay on the left is filled up with the Chantry Chapel of Bishop Kempe (1448-1489). A large aperture in the roof of the nave is noticeable: the explanation is given by Lombarde, the antiquary, in his *Topographical Dictionary*:² "I myself being a child

¹ This chapter is epitomized from one in "Chapters about Old St. Paul's," by my late friend Dr. Sparrow Simpson, the learned Antiquarian and Librarian of the Cathedral, who knew everything that there was to know on the subject.

² A.D. 1536-1601.

once saw in Paul's Church at London at a feast of Whitsuntide, where the coming down of the Holy Ghost was set forth by a white pigeon that was let fly out of a hole that is yet to be seen in the midst of the roof of the Great Aisle, and by a long censer which, descending out of the same place almost to the very ground, was swung up and down to such a length that it reached at one sweep almost to the west gate of the Church, and with the other to the choir stairs of the same, breathing out over the whole Church and company a most pleasant perfume of such sweet things as were burned therein." It was "a great large censer all silver with many windows and battlements": its weight no less than 15 ounces 3 quarters.

Noticeable, too, are little tables in the nave, where the Twelve Scribes sit for the accommodation of the public, after having taken an oath of fidelity to the Dean and Chapter. They write letters, or prepare legal instruments.

On the right hand of the nave, at the eleventh bay, is a magnificent monument to Sir John de Beauchamp, K.G., son of the famous Guy, Earl of Warwick (*temp.* Edward II.), (whose own tomb is one of exceeding beauty in the Beauchamp Chapel of Warwick Church). Sir John was Constable of the Castles of Dover and London, Warden of the Cinque Ports, Admiral of England and Privy Councillor. He died A.D. 1360, the thirty-fourth year of the reign of Edward III. It is a recumbent effigy in full armour, with armorial bearings on panels at the sides, and a canopy above. By a strange mistake the people call it Duke Humphry's Tomb, though the good Duke of Gloucester lies honourably buried at St. Albans Abbey; "in adoration of which Duke, the vulgar in old times used on St. Andrew's Day, before Christmas, to flock and prostrate themselves before this monument, and have a feast prepared for that purpose,

in which they styled themselves several officers appertaining to the said Duke. Moreover, on May-day, a certain rabble of tankard-bearers and mean mechanics used to come early in the morning, strewed flowers and sprinkled water on the said monument . . . till within our memory the bell-ringers and door-keepers have debarred them of their superstitious addresses, telling them that if they would visit Duke Humfrey's tomb they should go to St. Albans."¹ A man who goes without his dinner (walking during dinner-time in this nave) is said "to dine with Duke Humfrey"; in reference to this there is a proverb, "Trash and trumpery is the way to Duke Humfrey; that is, folly and idleness is the way to go without dinner."

The small door on the right opens into the cloisters, a beautiful square with seven traceried arches on each side, and of two stories: in the middle rises the lofty octagonal Chapter House with its pointed roof; it was built in 1332.²

As you turn back to the interior of the nave, you see an image of the Virgin at the foot of Sir John Beauchamp's tomb, with a light always burning before it; every morning, after matins, a short office is said there. By the north-west pier of the central tower is the Chapel of St. Paul, "built of timber, with stairs mounting thereunto." On the south side of the nave is St. Catherine's Chapel, on the north the chapel of the Holy Trinity; there is also an altar of the Apostles. As we stand under the central tower the great length and beauty of the transepts and their aisles are remarkable; the immense and prolonged choir and its aisles are protected by stone screens with figures and rich canopies. Near the door of the south transept is the Chapel of St. John the Evangelist. In the north transept there is a great crucifix of fabulous age, an object of enthusiastic devotion, with a light

¹ Fisher's *Tombes in Old St. Paul's*, p. 65; A.D. 1684.

² Dugdale.

burning before it, before which large oblations are made. Near it is the grave of Richard Martin, Bishop of St. David's in the reign of Edward IV., who had special veneration for this crucifix, and left a benefaction for the choristers to sing annually before it. Close to the great north door is a group of chapels dedicated to St. James, St. Thomas, the Holy Ghost, St. John Baptist and St. Margaret.

The choir contains some magnificent brasses: to Bishop FitzHugh near the altar, Dean Evere near the entrance, Canon John Newcourt (1485), Archdeacon Lichfield (1496). In the south aisle stands the image of St. Wilgefort, the chosen burying-place of Dean Colet. Near are two mitred recumbent figures under one canopy, early Bishops of London: Eustace de Fauconberge, Treasurer of the Exchequer, who died 1228, and Henry de Wingham, Chancellor of England, who died 1262. At the east end of the aisle is St. Dunstan's Chapel; the striking altar tomb is that of the famous Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, Protector of England in the absence of Edward I., and Viceroy of Aquitaine, to whom that King on his deathbed entrusted his son and successor. The figure is cross-legged. He died at his house of Lincoln's Inn. In the north aisle of the choir are many interesting monuments. At the western entrance, under the second window on the left, are two low shrines under deeply recessed arches, the resting-places of King Sebba and King Ethelred. King Sebba's inscription (in Latin) ran thus: "Here lies Sebba, King of the East Saxons, who was converted to the Faith of Christ by that Holy Man Erkonwald Bishop of London, in the year of our Lord 677. This good King was a person frequent in his daily duty and devotion towards God, and seriously intentive on religious exercises, and continual prayer, with the visible fruits of daily almsdeeds, preferring a private and monastic life to all the riches and honours of the kingdom. Who, after he had reigned thirty years,

received the religious habit by the benediction of Walter, Bishop of London, who succeeded Erkonwald. Of whom the Venerable Bede writes many things in his *History of the Nation of the English*.”¹

The inscription to King Ethelred the Unready is also worthy of full transcription: “Here lies Ethelred King of the English, son of King Edgar; to whom on the day of his consecration after the crown was placed on his head St. Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, is reported to have predicted terrible things in these words: ‘Because thou hast aspired to the Crown by the death of thy Brother, for whose murder the English have conspired with thine infamous Mother; therefore the sword shall not depart from thine house for ever, but shall cruelly rage against thee all the days of thy life, destroying of thy seed so long till thy Kingdom shall be transferred to a foreign nation, whose customs and language neither thou nor thy people shall understand. Neither shall this thy sin be expiated but by a very long punishment, nor yet the sin of thy mother, nor the sins of all those wicked men who had a hand in that most execrable and pernicious Council.’ The which things as they were ominously predicted by this holy man were exactly verified; for King Ethelred being vanquished, and put to flight in several battles by Sweyn and his son Canute, and being at last closely besieged in the City of London, and brought to great extremity, finally ended his days in much tribulation and trouble in the year of our Lord 1017, after reigning six and thirty years in great perplexity.”

A few steps further is another deeply recessed tomb, that of John de Chishull, formerly Dean of St. Paul's and afterwards Bishop of London, who died in 1280. On the right is a beautiful tomb with a low canopy and exquisite screen above it; that

¹ Fisher's *Tombes in Old St. Paul's*, p. 19.

of Roger Niger, Bishop of London, who died in 1241, and was canonized after his death; the stones are worn by the feet of countless pilgrims; in the sacristy is a cope worn by St. Roger, of red samite, embroidered with stars and roses. Another fine canopied altar-tomb is that of a Knight of the Garter named Burley, Warden of the Cinque Ports, Justice of South Wales, Constable of Windsor and Dover Castles, Vice-chamberlain of the Household and dearest of the Counsellors of Richard II., beheaded in 1388 during the triumph of one of the factions under the minority of the King. The space between the two columns north of the high altar is occupied by one of the noblest monuments in the Cathedral, that of John of Gaunt and his first wife, Blanche, in her own right Duchess of Lancaster. His second wife, Constance, daughter of Pedro the Cruel, King of Castile and Leon, was also buried beside him, but was not in effigy on the tomb. Passing the low altar-tomb of Canon Ralph de Hengham, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, we come, at the east end of the aisle, to St. George's Chapel.

Now, having inspected the south and north aisles of the choir, we will go back, and enter the choir itself by its superb carved stone doorway; it is at the top of an ascent of twelve steps. It is a glorious choir, of pure pointed Gothic, and, with the Lady Chapel, which is a mere continuation beyond the reredos, is of the same length as the nave. The delicately carved woodwork of the stalls, like that of Lincoln, strikes the eye; the stalls of the Dean, the Archdeacon of London, the Archdeacon of Essex, the Archdeacon of Middlesex, the Archdeacon of Colchester, and the Precentor face eastwards. Over each stall of a Canon is the name of his prebend, with the first verse of the portion of the Psalter which he is bound to recite daily. The organ is on the north side. Away to the east in the centre is the straight flat line of the

openwork reredos, with the high altar in the centre, dedicated to St. Paul; another altar to the north, dedicated to St. Ethelbert, King and Confessor; and another to the south to St. Mellitus, first Roman Bishop of London. These three altars were originally dedicated by Richard de Bentworth, Bishop of London, March 24, 1339. Over the altar Dugdale speaks of a beautiful tablet, adorned with many precious stones and enamelled work, and divers images of metal; a sort of special reredos; it cost 200 marks in 1309.

CHAPTER X

HENRY VIII. AND THE APPROACH OF THE REFORMATION

As the Reformation approached, the sermons at Paul's Cross were perhaps the most influential and characteristic evidence of the conflicting forces. "Latimer was one day thundering against the abuses of the Church; on another Friar Forest was arraigning the King's ministers, and more than covertly glancing at the King himself. In truth, the sermons at Paul's Cross, if they could be recovered and arranged, would be a living and instructive chronicle of the Reformation, from the first murmur about the King's divorce, the almost unanimous rejection of the Papal supremacy, the enactment of the terrible reactionary Six Articles, the stern reassertion of all the Roman doctrines except obedience to the Pope, the rapid progress of the new opinions, even to the iconoclasm under the Protectorate and the reign of Edward VI., the terrible days of Queen Mary, the reorganisation and final re-establishment of the Anglican doctrines under Elizabeth."¹

The Bishops of London were *FitzJames*, the narrow-minded opponent of Colet; the gentle *Tunstall*, who had been advocate of Queen Catherine, and retired to Durham; *John Stokesley*, Ambassador to Rome about the Divorce; *Bonner*, under Henry VIII., strong anti-Papalist, yet eager to execute the stern enactments of the Six Articles, and to light fires in their support; then the kind

¹ Milman, p. 169.

and learned *Ridley*, the man of the New Testament; then *Bonner* again, now a fierce Papalist, burning *Ridley* and many others, and earning his eternal epithet; then *Grindal*, submitting to imperious *Elizabeth*, but with the disinclination of a Christian and a Churchman.

The momentous marriage of Catherine of Aragon to Arthur, Prince of Wales, the elder son of Henry VII., took place at St. Paul's Cathedral, on Sunday, November 21, 1501, with the utmost splendour.

At this period, the marriage of Princess Margaret, Henry VII.'s eldest daughter, to King James IV. of Scotland (1503) was proclaimed at St. Paul's on the Festival of the Conversion of St. Paul. This marriage brought the crown of England to her great-grandson, James VI.

Henry VII. died at Richmond, April 21, 1509; his body was brought over London Bridge to lie in state at St. Paul's, previously to resting some years at Windsor until the splendid chapel at Westminster Abbey should be completed.

The delivery in St. Paul's of a Sword and Cap of Maintenance to Henry VIII., in 1514, sent as a compliment by the Pope, is minutely described in a letter of the Venetian Ambassador.

Next year, October 3, 1515, came a thanksgiving service for the peace. "Last Sunday the Cardinal of York (*Wolsey*) sang mass in St. Paul's Cathedral. The occasion was the proclamation of the peace, the Eternal Peace it was declared, between the Kings of France and England, the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of Spain; and the betrothal of Mary, Princess of England, to the Dauphin of France. The large chapel and the choir were hung with gold brocade, wrought with the King's arms. Near the altar was a pew formed of cloth of gold for the King, and in front of it a small altar quite crowded with golden images one foot high, with a cross of pure gold to correspond, all the rest of the ornaments being of silver gilt. At

this altar two Low Masses were said before the King whilst High Mass was being sung.

"On the other side of the high altar was a chair, raised six steps from the ground, surmounted by a canopy of stiff brocade, hanging from the wall down to the chair, for the Cardinal of York. On the same side, further removed from the altar, was another chair raised three steps, with a similar canopy, for the Legate Campeggio. In the centre of the Church a wooden platform was raised, reaching well nigh from the great gate to the choir (as at the marriage of Prince Arthur and Princess Catherine).

"The King entered the Cathedral with the two Legates, all the Ambassadors, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and about twelve Bishops, with some six Abbots, besides dukes, marquises and earls. At the mass, all the Bishops and Abbots wore jewelled mitres, taking their place beside the Legates; the Ambassadors with the other great laymen being on the King's side. His Majesty's upper garment was a robe of crimson satin lined with brocade, and he had a tunic of purple velvet powdered with precious stones, namely, a stone and a large pearl alternately, the stones being rubies, sapphires, turquoises and diamonds, all of the best water and sparkling. The King wore a collar thickly studded with the finest carbuncles as large as walnuts.

"Mass being ended, the Legates in their mitres went out of the choir, and from a platform simultaneously gave their benediction to the people, and then, returning to the altar, did the like again to the King and the others; after which, Sir Richard Pace (not yet Dean), made a good and sufficiently long oration, delivering it excellently; whereupon the King, together with the three French Ambassadors, namely, the Admiral of France, the Bishop of Paris and another, flanked by the two Legates, swore at the high altar

perpetual peace between the King of France and the King of England, both the King and the Ambassadors taking the oath upon the Gospels, and the Body of Christ."¹

Four years later there was another splendid ceremony at St. Paul's. "On July 15, 1519, the Venetian Ambassadors were invited to attend the ceremony of the Proclamation of the Emperor (Charles V.) in the Cathedral. They were taken to the appointed place by two knights of the King's Chamber, and found there Cardinals Wolsey and Campeggio, tho Ambassador of the Catholic King, and all the chief lords of the kingdom.

"The French Ambassador refused to attend, saying he had received no announcement of the election from his Sovereign.

"When all were assembled in the Church, *Te Deum* was chanted, and Cardinal Wolsey gave the benediction. Then the unanimous election of the Catholic King, as King of the Romans, was proclaimed by two heralds."²

In 1521, on May 12, the Pope's sentence against Martin Luther was published at the faithful Cathedral. "The Lord Thomas Wolsey, by the grace of God Legate de Latere, Cardinal of St. Cecilia and Archbishop of York, came unto St. Paul's Church, with the most part of the Bishops of the realm, where he was received with procession, and censed by Mr. Richard Pace, the Dean of that Church. He was conducted to the high altar by four Doctors holding a canopy over him, and there made his oblation. He proceeded under his cloth of state, and took his seat on a scaffold near Paul's Cross, with his two crosses; on either side, the Pope's Ambassador, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Imperial Ambassador; the Bishop of Durham sat below, with other prelates.

¹ *Venetian Dispatches*, ii. p. 464.

² *Ibid.*, ii. p. 543.

Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, preached by the Pope's command against one Martinus Eleutherius and his works, because 'he erred sore and spake against the holy faith,' and denounced them accursed which kept any of his books; and there 'were many burned in the said churchyard of the said books during the sermon.' After that the Lord Cardinal went home to dinner with all the other prelates."¹

Next year the Emperor Charles V. visited the Cathedral. "On the 9th of June, 1522, the Emperor went to the principal Church of London, where the Pope, which is the Cardinal, said mass. (This is either a mistaken or a satirical description of Wolsey.) He was censured by more than twenty mitred prelates, from the one and the other Courts. The festivities were splendid, and some persons wore extraordinarily rich clothes."²

It was Wolsey who, as Papal Legate, "deprived St. Paul's of a privilege and distinction no doubt highly estimated in those days. Up to this time, the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury had held its sittings in the Cathedral or Chapter House of St. Paul's. As Archbishop of York Wolsey summoned the Northern Convocation, as Legate the Southern, to meet together in his presence, near his residence at York House, Whitehall. They met by permission of the Abbot of Westminster in the Jerusalem Chamber (and probably the College Hall). This was held by some no less than a robbery of St. Paul's. Since that time, no doubt from convenience—and so long as the Convocation exercised legislative powers, taxed the clergy, and sate as a branch of the Parliament of England, it was a matter of much convenience—the practice has continued. Since the revival of Convocation in 1852, it assembles at

¹ *MS. Vitellius*, Malcolm, vol. iii. p. 176.

² *Simancas Dispatches*.

St. Paul's, the Latin sermon is preached, the Prolocutor of the Lower House is chosen, and then Convocation adjourns, for the dispatch of business, to Westminster."¹

In 1523, came the news of the Battle of Pavia (February 23) and the captivity of Francis I. The event was celebrated by an order of the King to the Lord Mayor that there should be a great bonfire at Paul's Church door, and there to be set a hogshead of red wine, and another of claret, for the people to drink that would, for the good tidings.² On the Sunday after, the King, the Queen, the Princess and both Houses of Parliament attended at a solemn *Te Deum* in the Cathedral. On St. Matthew's Day (September 21), there was a great procession of all the religious orders through the City. Wolsey, with his train of Bishops, sang *Te Deum* at the high altar.

In 1527, came news of another imperial victory, the sack of Rome by Charles V.'s general, Bourbon, and the captivity of Pope Clement. There was another solemn procession of Wolsey and the Bishops to St. Paul's.

The story of Dean Colet's brilliant successor, *Richard Pace* (Dean from 1519 to 1532 or 1536), is tragic. He died mad.

With the approach of the Reformation, memorable scenes occurred at St. Paul's, the very kernel of the English history of the day. First, the destruction of Tyndale's Bible, thus described by Froude—

"On the morning of Shrove Tuesday, A.D. 1527, we are to picture to ourselves a procession moving along London streets, from the Fleet Prison to St. Paul's Cathedral. The Warden of the Fleet was there, and the Knight Marshal and the tipstuffs, with all his company they could make with bills and glaives; and in the midst of these armed officials,

¹ *Milman's Annals*, p. 178.

² *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 27.

six men marching in penitential dresses, one carrying a lighted taper five pounds weight, the others with symbolical fagots, signifying to the lookers-on the fate which their crimes had earned for them, but which at this time in mercy was remitted. One of these was Barnes (burned in 1540); the other five were 'Stillyard men,' undistinguishable by any other name, but detected members of the brotherhood.

"It was eight o'clock when they arrived at St. Paul's. The people had thronged in crowds before them. The public seats and benches were filled. All London had hurried to the spectacle. A platform was erected in the centre of the nave, on the top of which, enthroned in pomp of purple and gold and splendour, sate the great Cardinal, supported on each side with eighteen Bishops, mitred Abbots and Priests—six-and-thirty in all; his chaplains and 'spiritual doctors' sitting also where they could find place 'in gowns of damask and satin.' Opposite the platform, over the north door of the Cathedral, was a great crucifix—a famous image in those days, called the Rood of Northern; and at the foot of it, inside a rail, a fire was burning, with the sinful books, the Tracts and Testaments, ranged round it in baskets, waiting for the execution of the sentence.

"Such was the scene in the midst of which the six prisoners entered. A second platform stood in a conspicuous place in front of the Cardinal's throne, where they could be seen and heard by the crowd; and there, on their knees, with their fagots on their shoulders, they begged pardon of God and the Holy Catholic Church for their high crimes and offences. When the confession was finished, Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, preached a sermon; and, the sermon over, Barnes turned to the people, declaring that he was more charitably handled than he deserved, his heresies were so heinous and detestable.

"There was no other religious service: mass had, perhaps, been said previous to the admission to the Church of heretics lying under censure; and the Knight Marshal led the prisoners down to the fire underneath the crucifix. They were taken within the rails, and three times led round the blazing pile, casting in their fagots as they passed. The contents of the baskets were heaped upon the fagots, and the holocaust was complete. This time an unbloody sacrifice was deemed sufficient. The Church was satisfied with penance, and Fisher pronounced the prisoners absolved, and received back into communicaⁿ.¹ Meantime the printing of an improved edition went on apace at Antwerp, accelerated by the money the Bishops were paying to buy up the existing copies.² Barnes was returned to prison, but escaped, and went beyond sea to Luther.³ Another holocaust of Bibles took place in 1530, at which Bishop Stokesley presided.

The same year, 1530, occurred a strange scene in the Chapter House, illustrating the working of the extraordinary measure by which all the clergy of the realm were placed under the Act of Præmunire on the plea that they had accepted Wolsey's illegal assumption of Legatine power. In that assumption the King himself had acquiesced; but it was now convenient at once to exact vast sums from the clergy, and to change the supremacy of the Pope into that of the King. The whole of the temporalities of the clergy, from highest to lowest, lay at the mercy of the Crown; the composition for the Province of Canterbury reached the enormous total of £100,000, more than £1,000,000 according to present value. The payment was to be accompanied by an acknowledgment of the royal supremacy. The burden was to be divided pro-

¹ Froude, vol. ii. pp. 42, 43.

² Ellis, 3rd series, ii. 90.

³ *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 33.

portionally amongst the different dioceses, and every ecclesiastic was to contribute his share. When this was known, the indignation of the parish clergy knew no bounds; they had been in no way responsible for the unlawful acquiescence of their superiors, and they determined to resist the iniquitous charge. Bishop Stokesley had appointed September 1 for a meeting at the Chapter House to arrange the assessment. "He was a man of great wit and learning, but of little discretion and humanity, which caused him to be out of favour with the common people." "To his dismay," writes Dean Milman, following Hall's chronicle, "he heard that the whole clergy, at least six hundred, of all ranks and orders, parish priests, stipendiaries, the lowest and humblest, were thronging at the doors of the Chapter House, backed by a great multitude of the people, who crowded round, some perhaps from attachment to their pastors, . . . very many doubtless to enjoy and aggravate the riot.

"High words were uttered, not by the Bishop, but by his officers, no doubt offended at the insolence of these low priests to their lord and master. Blows were struck; the 'temporals' backed the priests, so that the Bishop himself began to quail with apprehension for his sacred person. Pardoning their rude demeanour, giving them a hasty blessing, and entreating them to depart in charity, he withdrew; and the priests, also, thinking all was over, withdrew. The Bishop hastened to the Chancellor, Sir Thomas More; fifteen priests and four laymen were arrested by the Chancellor's order, some committed to the Fleet, some to the Tower; and they paid the penalty for their resistance by a long imprisonment."

The King's divorce had been debated in many a sermon at Paul's Cross. Anne Boleyn, in her magnificent procession from the Tower to her coronation, passed by the Cathedral, at the east

end of which she was entertained by the boys of St. Paul's School, with verses in praise of the King and herself, "wherewith she seemed highly delighted."

The exposure and degradation of the Nun of Kent, with her accomplices, the Dean of Bocking and the rector of Aldermanbury, whose imposture had inflamed the people in favour of the unfortunate Queen Catherine, took place at Paul's Cross before a vast multitude the year after Anne's marriage; the Bishop of Bangor preached the sermon.

In 1534, after the final determination to abrogate the Pope's supremacy, care was taken to secure Paul's Cross for the new principle. "Orders be taken that such as preach at Paul's Cross (at first it seems they were Bishops) shall henceforth continually, Sunday after Sunday, teach and declare unto the people, that he that now calls himself Pope, and any of his predecessors, is and were only Bishops of Rome, and have no more authority or jurisdiction, by God's laws, within this realm than any other Bishop had, which is nothing at all; and that such authority as he has claimed heretofore has been only by usurpation and sufferance of the Princes of this realm; and that the Bishop of London is bound to suffer none to preach at Paul's Cross, as he will answer, but such as will preach and set forth the same."¹

Stokesley, like Gardiner (who wrote a long treatise on True Obedience) and Bonner (who wrote a preface to the same), was a supporter of the royal supremacy. He went with Cranmer and Gardiner to Dunstable to cite Queen Catherine to appear. The chronicler gives a curious little scene illustrating his action: "Yesterday we had my Lord of London here (the Nunnery of Sion) in the Chapter House of Women, and the Confessor also, which both took it upon their consciences and the peril of their souls, that the ladies ought, by God's

¹ Strype's *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 151.

law, to consent to the King's title, his supremacy, whereat they were much comforted."¹

The Dean and Chapter were on the same side. "An instrument is extant on which, seemingly with entire unanimity, they declare their obedience to King Henry, and Anne his wife, and to their offspring. They assert the King to be head of the Church of England, and that the Bishop of Rome has no more authority than any other foreign Bishop. The document is largely signed by the Dean, four Canons Residentiary, the Sub-dean, the Cardinals and others."²

Burning was proceeding. Stokesley burned two Lollards, and forced recantation from many more. "In 1535, nineteen German Anabaptists and five women were examined in the Cathedral; fourteen were condemned; a man and a woman sent to be burned in Smithfield; twelve dispatched to other towns to be sacrificed as an example. To the fate of these poor wretches, the hearts of Papalists and anti-Papalists, of Catholics and Protestants, were sternly sealed."³

James Bainham, an accused heretic, "frightened by the cold, stern demeanour of Stokesley, recanted. The next day he recanted his recantation. He was taken to the Bishop of London's coal-cellar at Fulham, the favourite episcopal prison-chamber. There he was ironed, put in the stocks, and left for many days in the chill March weather. Bainham, after repeated whippings, was burned in Smithfield."⁴

At the opening of Convocation, June 1536 (three weeks after the execution of Anne Boleyn), sermons were preached morning and afternoon in St. Paul's Cathedral by Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester.

¹ *Suppression of Monasteries*, p. 49.

² Milman, quoting Appendix to Wharton.

³ Milman's *Annals*, p. 195.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

They are largely quoted by Froude and by Milman, in whose pages it is well worth while to read the old reformer's words, strongly illustrating the times.

A scene which took place in St. Paul's on November 24, 1538, during the episcopate of Stokesley, shows the strength of the rising tide of the Reformation, in spite of the traditional opinions of the older Bishops. The day was Sunday, and the famous "Rood (crucifix) of Boxley in Kent, made to move the eyes and lips, to bow, to seem to speak; which had been working there unquestioned miracles for centuries; having been detected by a clever rationalist of the day, and exposed with all its secret springs and ingenious machinery, at Maidstone, and at Whitehall, was brought to St. Paul's to meet its final discomfiture and doom. To the curious and intelligent citizens of London the whole trickery was shown. Ridley, now Bishop of Rochester, preached a sermon. The holy, wonder-working image was thrown down and broken to pieces amid the jeers and scoffs of the rabble."¹

In 1539, Stokesley took part in the great debate of the Bishops in the Parliament House at Westminster, under the presidency of Thomas Crumwell. "After an humble acknowledgment of the virtuous exhortation most worthy a Christian King, as delivered in the King's name by Crumwell, then began they to dispute of the Sacraments; and first of all the Bishop of London (Stokesley), who was an earnest defender of the King's part, whom a little before the Lord Crumwell had rebuked by name for defending of unwritten verities; this Bishop of London, I say, went about to defend that there were Seven Sacraments of our Christian religion, which he would go about to prove by certain stinking glosses and old heresy writers. He

¹ Milman's *Annals*, p. 102.

had upon his side the Archbishop of York (Lee), the Bishop of Lincoln (Longland), Bath (Clerk), Chichester (Saxton), and Norwich (Repps); against him were the Bishop of Salisbury (Shaxton), Ely (Goodrich), Hereford (Fox), Worcester (Latimer), with the Archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer)." A long speech of Cranmer follows; then an argument by the writer of this account (Alexander Alane Scot), who was interrupted by the Bishop of London, but supported by Fox of Hereford.¹

In 1539, Stokesley defended the terrible Six Articles against Cranmer, Ridley and other Bishops. In a few weeks he died, September 14, and was buried in St. Paul's.

He was succeeded by *Edmund Bonner*, Bishop of Hereford, then beyond the seas, obviously on the nomination of Henry VIII. Wharton gives the following account of Bonner: "He was natural son to George Savage, priest, by Elizabeth Frodsham, who was the wife (after Bonner had been begotten) of Edmund Bonner, a sawyer, and from him had the name of Bonner. He was born at Elmeley, or at Peter Hanley, in Worcestershire; and about 1512 became a student in Broadgate Hall (now Pembroke College) in Oxon.; took the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1525; he having before that entered into holy orders. He obtained not the least praise for his learning, but much for his skill in other affairs. Hence Cardinal Wolsey made him his Commissary for the Faculties. He had several ecclesiastical benefices, which he held at one and the same time, viz. the rectories of Ripple, Bledon, Cherry Burton and East Dereham, and the prebend of Chiswick in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul; but that he resigned in 1539, as he did his church of East

¹ *On the Authoritie of the Word of God*, by A. A. Scot, 1542, quoted by Sir Henry Ellis, *Letters*, 3rd series vol. iii. p. 196.

Dereham in 1540. He was likewise Archdeacon of Leicester. He continued firm to the Cardinal as long as he lived; but when he died, he applied himself to the Court, was one of the King's chaplains, a favourer of the Lutherans, and of the divorce between the King and Katherine of Spain, and of the King's proceedings in expelling the Pope's authority here in England. He was employed in several embassies to foreign Princes; and whilst he was ambassador to the King of France, 1538, he was declared Bishop of Hereford; and the temporalities of that See, March 4, 1539, were, in his absence, restored to his proctor; but before his return he was elected, on the 20th of October following, to the Bishopric of London; and after his confirmation, November 12, 1539, took commission from the King for the exercise of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and was consecrated in his own Cathedral, April 4, 1540, and enthroned on the 16th of the same month."¹

In 1540 occurred a sharp contest at Paul's Cross on two successive Sundays, and afterwards at St. Mary's, Spittal, between Barnes, who in 1527 had been compelled to burn Bibles in St. Paul's, and who had returned in the time of Anne Boleyn, and Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, which ended in the burning of Barnes and his two fellow preachers, of whom one was Jerome, Parson of Stepney, as well as three Papalist opponents of the King's supremacy.

In 1542, at the Convocation, Cranmer and Bonner met at St. Paul's, and Bonner celebrated the Mass of the Holy Ghost. Both were engaged in producing the *First Book of Homilies*. The "Exhortation to reading the Holy Scriptures" was written by Cranmer; that on Charity by Bonner.

On June 13, 1546, there was another thanksgiving for peacc. It was Whit Monday, and there was a

¹ Wharton, quoted by Newcourt, *Repertorium*, vol. i. p. 26.

great procession from St. Paul's to St. Peter's-on-Cornhill, with all the children of St. Paul's School, and a cross of every parish church, and "parsons and vicars of every church in new copes, and the choir of St. Paul's in the same manner; and the Bishop (Bonner), bearing the Sacrament under a canopy, met the Mayor in a gown of crimson velvet, the Aldermen, and all the Crafts in their best apparel, and at the Cross was proclaimed, with heralds and pursuivants, universal peace for ever between the Emperor, the King of England, the King of France, and all Christian kings for ever."

The last scene of Henry VIII.'s reign at St. Paul's is of the saddest. On July 10, 1546, were burnt a priest of Richmond, the noble Anne Askew, a gentleman of Furnival's Inn named Lascelles, and a poor tailor from Colchester. Nicholas Shaxton, who had been Bishop of Salisbury, with two others, was in Newgate with them, and received the same sentence. Shaxton preached at their burning before the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Chancellor Wriothesley, others of the Council, with the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs and Judge: "and the 1st of August after preached at Paul's Cross the said Nicholas Shaxton, and there recanted and wept sore, and made great lamentation for the offence, and prayed the people to forgive him his mis-example that he had given unto the people."¹ These were difficult times.

¹ *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, pp. 50, 51.

CHAPTER XI

EDWARD VI. AND THE REFORMATION

THE beginning of the short reign of Edward VI. showed the mingling of the old and new ideas in religion. On January 28, 1547, Edward ascended the throne. On April 1, the English service was heard in King's Chapel. Dr. Glazier preached at Paul's Cross against fasting in Lent as without warrant in Holy Scripture. In another sermon, Dr. Smith, Principal of Whittington College, condemned his own books, written in defence of the old faith. Another preacher, Ridley, Master of Pembroke, Cambridge (soon to be Bishop of London), condemned the worship of pictures, the adoration of saints, and the use of holy water. Barlow, Bishop of St. David's, was very outspoken. On the other hand, the old funereal rites still lingered: a sumptuous hearse was raised in the nave of the Cathedral in honour of the late French King, Francis I. Latin dirges were chanted: Archbishop Cranmer, with eight mitred Bishops, sang the old Requiem Mass. Bishop Gardiner preached the funeral sermon in praise of Francis I., the deadly persecutor of the Reformation. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen were present. The choir and all the body of the Church were hung with black. Every church in London followed suit the same day, all the bells tolling.

The Grey Friars' chronicler describes the royal procession of Edward VI. from the Tower to Westminster: pageants, tapestries, guilds in Cheapside. At the west end of St. Paul's steeple was tied a cable, the other end attached to the anchor of a ship near the doorway of the Deanery, down

which a man slid as swift as an arrow from a bow, with his feet and hands abroad, and not touching the rope with them.

Now came orders from the Council. One of these commanded the destruction of images, forbade processions, and ordered the discontinuance of all customs held to be superstitious, not in the Cathedral only, but in all the precincts. The Commissioners appeared in St. Paul's in December, and removed the images. On February 14, the Litany was chanted in English, between choir and nave, the singers divided as usual in two sections; the Epistle and Gospel were read in English; all in the presence of Dean May. Bishop Bonner received the Council's injunctions under protest, was committed to the Fleet, made humble submission, and was released after eight days. Vigorous measures were in the air; it must have been unpleasant to the gentle Cranmer to have to summon Gardiner before him at the Deanery of St. Paul's, and commit him to prison. Now was the parting of the ways.

By one determined act all obits and chantries were abolished; unhappily, instead of devoting the ecclesiastical revenue to colleges, religious education in schools, or the increase of poor benefices, which, by the suppression of the monasteries, were exceedingly numerous, the Council swept all these endowments into the hands of themselves and their adherents.

Henry VIII. had confiscated some of the treasures of St. Paul's; the bell-tower on the east side of the churchyard, with the famous Jesus bells, were lost by him on a throw of the dice to Sir Miles Partridge against a stake of £100. Partridge, says the grim Grey Friars' chronicler, was subsequently executed for treason. "In the autumn and winter of 1552-3," says Mr. Froude, "no less than four commissions were appointed with this one object; to go over the oft-trodden ground, and share the last spoils which

could be gathered from the churches. In the business of plunder the rapacity of the Crown officials had been far distanced hitherto by private speculation. The halls of country houses were hung with altar-cloths; tables and beds were quilted with copes; knights and squires drank their claret out of chalices, and watered their horses in marble coffins. Pious clergy, gentlemen or churchwardens had in many places secreted plate, images or candlesticks, which force might bring to light. Bells rich in silver still hung silent in remote church towers, or were buried in the vaults. Organs still pealed through aisles in notes unsuited to a regenerate worship; and damask napkins, rich robes, consecrated banners, pious offerings of men of another faith, remained in the chests of the vestries."¹ Some of the treasures of St. Paul's are still to be seen in Spain. "Inquire," says Ford's *Handbook*, "particularly in the sacristia of the Cathedral of Valencia, to see the Terno, and complete set of three frontals, or coverings for the altar, which were purchased in London by two Valencian merchants, Andrea and Pedro de Medina, at the sale by Henry VIII. of the Romish decorations at St. Paul's. They are embroidered in gold and silver, are about twelve feet long by four, and represent subjects from the life of the Saviour. In one, Christ in Limbo (Hades), are introduced turrets evidently taken from those of the Tower of London. They are placed on the high altar from Saturday to Monday in Holy Week. In the Cathedral of Saragossa is part of a cope embroidered with Adam and Eve, which was bought at our Reformation from the old Cathedral of St. Paul's, London."²

Dugdale records the humble petition of the Dean and Chapter to be permitted to retain a few

¹ Froude, vol. v. p. 458.

² Ford's *Handbook of Spain*, vol. i. p. 440; vol. ii. p. 959.

necessary articles for divine service: "Two pairs of basons for the Communion bread, and to receive the offerings for the poor (one pair silver for every day, the other for festivals, gilt); a silver pot for the wine, weighing forty ounces; the written text of the Gospels and Epistles; a large canopy of tissue for His Majesty when he cometh hither; a pall of black velvet for the hearse; a border of black sarcenet, with a fringe of black silk mixed with gold, for the burial of noble persons; baldachins of divers sorts and colours, for garnishing the quire at the King's coming, and for the Bishop's seat, as also at other times when the choir shall be apparelled for the honour of the realm; eight cushions, thirty albs to make surplices for the ministers and the choristers; twenty-four old cushions to kneel on; seven cloths of linen, plain and diaper, for the Communion Table; five towels; two hangings of tapestry for the quire; a Turkey carpet for the Communion Table; a pastoral staff for the Bishop."¹

Sermons and discussions were now frequent about the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, often painfully expressed, and distressing to the adherents of the long tradition of the Roman obedience. Such things can hardly be helped at a time of upheaval and transition. Ridley, Bishop of Rochester, rebuked the wranglers in a sermon at Paul's Cross. "In the loftiest tone he asserted the dignity of the Sacrament, in which Christ was present though not in His material or natural body (the bread remained bread), but His presence was felt in the hearts of faithful communicants."²

At Easter, 1549, Holy Communion was administered according to the newly revised English form: "confession," the Grey Friar notes, "was only for those who would confess." After Easter, by command of the Dean (William May), began

¹ Dugdale, Appendix, p. 391. ² Milman's *Annals*, p. 219.

regularly the English service. On St. Martin's Day the sermons began again at Paul's Cross; Ferrar (Farrar), Bishop of St. David's (afterwards burnt by Queen Mary), was the preacher. "He spake," says the Grey Friar, "against all manner of things of the Church, and the Sacrament of the Altar, and vestments, and copes, and all other things."

Processions were forbidden in the streets. The Whitsuntide offices of the Skinners' Company, with their censing in St. Paul's, had been prohibited. The most sacred holiday of the old faith, *Corpus Christi*, had been neglected. On the second Sunday in Lent the Sacrament of the Altar (the Reserved Sacrament and its place) had been pulled down by order of the Dean. On June 26, came an order for the discontinuance of the Apostles' Mass and the Mass of Our Lady. There was to be no communion except at the Holy Table in the chancel. But the spirit *De hæretico comburendo* was not yet entirely exorcised. The Archbishop and Commissioners sat in judgment in the Cathedral on some more Anabaptists. One or two recanted, and bore fagots. Jean Bocher, who had imbibed some wild and ignorant opinions on the Incarnation, was burnt, Ridley, alas! taking an active part in her condemnation.

These sudden changes brought about rebellion in many parts of the kingdom, chiefly Devonshire, Cornwall and Norfolk. The City was startled by being suddenly summoned to place itself in a state of defence. Archbishop Cranmer came hastily to St. Paul's, and gave a terrible account of the insurrection. When it was crushed, he appeared again, on August 10, 1549, arraigning Papal priests as its principal authors.

Bonner was an odd factor as Bishop of London in these times of advancing reform. Two days before the abolition of the Mass of the Apostles, and others of the kind, he received an order from

the Council to that effect, which he passed on to the Dean and Chapter. On August 17, he appeared in the Cathedral, and officiated according to the new rites "discreetly and sadly." He was obviously out of sympathy with the new *régime*, and was summoned before the Council. "Severe animadversions were made on his unfrequent attendances at the services of the Cathedral, in which he had heretofore officiated with zealous regularity. He was accused of appearing stealthily at foreign masses, and still unreformed ceremonials. He was ordered to reside at his palace near St. Paul's, to discharge all the duties of his function, especially to officiate at the Cathedral on every high festival, and to administer the Communion in the new form. He was to proceed against all who did not frequent Common Prayer and receive the Sacrament, and against those who went to mass. Beyond all this, he was commanded to preach on subjects chosen, with determined ingenuity, to implicate him, if possible, with at least tacit approval of the late rebellion, and to assert those doctrines which he was known, in his heart and conscience, to repudiate. He was to declare the heinousness of wilful rebellion as incurring eternal damnation, especially the guilt of the western insurgents, who were to have their portion with Lucifer, the father and first author of Disobedience, 'whatever masses of holy water soever they went about to pretend.' He was to urge the awful examples of Korah, Dathan and Abiram, and that of Saul, rejected because he spared the sheep for sacrifice, and thereby betrayed his disobedience to God. He was to aver that vital religion consisted only in prayer to God, that rites and ceremonies might be altered at the command of the magistrate; therefore, if any man persisted in the Latin service, his devotion was valueless on account of his disobedience."¹

¹ Milman's *Annals*.

On September 1, Bonner ascended the pulpit of Paul's Cross in obedience to these directions, with a vast assemblage at his feet. Touching on the chief points of the Council's instruction, he omitted one—that the King was to be implicitly obeyed, as being no less a king when a minor, and not of full age. The rest of the sermon was on the Corporal Presence in the Eucharist, asserting transubstantiation in the strongest terms, with many sharp aspersions of those who held the opposite doctrine.

Bonner was sent to the Tower, and committed a prisoner till the accession of Mary. The See of London was declared vacant. "On the first of November, the Bishop of London was sent for at afternoon to Lambeth, and then the said Archbishop of Canterbury discharged the said Bishop of London as much as lay in his power. But mark what follows. On the 7th day of October (nearly a year later), was proclaimed the Lord Protector traitor."¹

In April of the following year (1550), the new Bishop of London, *Nicolas Ridley*, Bishop of Rochester, was enthroned in the Cathedral. Ridley was "a gentleman of an ancient house in the county of Northumberland; bred up in school at Newcastle, thence sent to the University of Cambridge, where he studied hard, took the degree of Doctor of Divinity, was some time Fellow of University College in Oxford, but afterwards Master of Pembroke Hall, in Cambridge; and shortly after promoted to the See of Rochester." Before he would enter the choir at his enthronement, he ordered the lights on the Holy Table to be extinguished. He was unmarried. When he took possession of Fulham, he insisted that the mother and sister of his imprisoned predecessor, Bishop Bonner, should continue to reside at that palace.

¹ *Grey Friars' Chronicle.*

They were constant and welcome guests at Ridley's hospitable table. The place of honour was always reserved for "our mother, Bonner." Yet Bonner burnt him.

On the night of St. Barnabas' Day, the high altar at St. Paul's was pulled down, the Holy Table set up in its place, and a curtain drawn to exclude non-communicants, according to primitive order. On the following Sunday Holy Communion was administered at the Holy Table. At Christmas the singers' procession was discontinued. On March 24 (1550), the doors at the side of the Holy Table were closed up. The Holy Table was more than once moved. At one time it stood north and south, later on it was moved lower down where the priests sang.

On October 24, there was a general demolition of the altars and chapels throughout the Church; and it should seem, amongst the tombs such as were shrines for public worship. "All the goodly stonework behind the high altar with seats for the Priests, the Dean and the Sub-dean, were remorselessly cut and hacked away. An order from the Court alone saved the magnificent monument of John of Gaunt."¹

On All Hallows' Day, 1552, began the book of the revised service at St. Paul's, the Second Prayer-book of Edward VI., which has gradually grown into its present form, and was now, if not absolutely, nearly complete.² "On this memorable day Bishop Ridley read the prayers and preached in the choir, with no vestment but the rochet and chimere;³ the Priests, the Dean and the Prebendaries wore their surplices and University caps and hoods. The Bishop preached in the afternoon at Paul's Cross."⁴

¹ Grey Friar, p. 76. ² Milman's *Annals*, p. 228.

³ Black satin coat, and white lawn tunic and sleeves.

⁴ Milman's *Annals*, p. 220.

On May 25, 1553, came the Commissioners, with the Lord Mayor, to make the last remorseless sweep of the treasures of the Cathedral, leaving but a scanty stock for the simpler service. Bishop Ridley strove, not without success, to rescue endowments for religious and charitable foundations, from the hands of the needy Government and the rapacious nobles. He extorted the foundation and endowment of Bridewell Hospital for the homeless poor, and threw it open to the City, an act (remarkable in those days) of wise charity, which by no means stands alone in these times of prodigal and almost lawless rapine. To the reign of Edward VI., and in great part to the influence of Bishop Ridley, belongs the noble foundation of Christ's Hospital.¹

¹ Milman's *Annals*, p. 228.

CHAPTER XII

REACTION: QUEEN MARY

THE accession of Mary Tudor was, of course, a complete upheaval of the Reformation arrangements. Bonner was restored, the mass reinstated, Latin revived as the language of worship, sentences of death pronounced against the reformers at Paul's Cross.

Ridley would have been wiser if, like many others, he had retired to the continent and waited for happier days: "If they shall persecute you in one city, flee unto another." He threw himself desperately into the anti-Marian faction, preaching a sermon at Paul's Cross, in which he denounced both Mary and Elizabeth as bastards. How unfortunate it is for the Church when it mixes itself up with politics! Finding there was no chance for Lady Jane Grey, the ideal of beauty and holiness, the pathetic and unwilling Ten Days' Queen of the Protestants, he went to Cambridge to throw himself at the feet of Mary in her victory, was brought back to London, and committed to the Tower.

St. Paul's was now in the hands of the restored Papal Church. At the proclamation of Queen Mary, the unconscious bells rang out in peals; the Lords marched in solemn array to the Cathedral; *Te Deum* was sung; the organ, sometime silenced by the Puritan ideal, burst out into full majestic mass of sound. On the Queen's procession from the Tower to the Coronation at Westminster, a feat was performed at St. Paul's to rival that at the procession of Edward VI.: "a Dutchman stood on the cross, waving a long streamer, and shifting from one foot to another, amid a blaze of torches, which he brandished over his head."¹

¹ Milman's *Annals*, p. 233, from *Chronicle*.

London's acquiescence in the triumph of the Romanist Mary was somewhat superficial. "At the first sermon at Paul's Cross, Dr. Bourne, the preacher, not only prayed for the dead, but denounced the incarceration of Bonner 'in that vile prison, the Marshalsey,' and inveighed strongly against Bishop Ridley. 'There was shouting at the sermon as it were like mad people';¹ cries arose, 'He preaches damnation; pull him down, pull him down.' A dagger was thrown at the preacher, which struck one of the side posts of the pulpit.² Happily Bradford, well known as a devout Protestant, stepped forth before the speaker, and reminded the unruly mob of St. Paul's command 'to be subject to the higher powers.' But the fray did not cease; it threatened more violence. The obnoxious divine was at length rescued by Bradford and Rogers, then a Canon of St. Paul's. He was conveyed in safety to St. Paul's School, hard by. The presence of the Lord Mayor and Lord Courtenay somewhat repressed the tumult."

The Privy Council at the Tower enjoined the Lord Mayor to keep the peace and punish the offenders. Humphrey Pullen was committed to the Compter; Bradford, Veron and Beacon to the Tower, as seditious preachers. Two days later the parson of St. Ethelburga and a barber were set in pillory at Paul's Cross, with their ears nailed to it. At the end of August mass was said in the Cathedral, matins and vespers chanted in Latin, the crucifix was restored; the English service inhibited. On the Sunday before the Coronation, Dr. Feckenham (successively Dean of St. Paul's and Westminster, the gentlest and most learned of the Romanists) preached undisturbed a goodly sermon at Paul's Cross.³ On October 2, when Dr. Weston, Dean of Windsor, preached, strong bar-

¹ Machyn, p. 41.

² August 13: Grafton, Stowe.

³ Machyn, p. 44.

riers had to be erected at every entrance into the churchyard, to prevent the crowd of horses and people. On St. Andrew's Day, Dr. Bourne preached safely in the Cathedral, with a great procession, and Latin invocation of the saints. Next day Nicholas Harpsfield did the same. "On the 24th was a very gorgeous procession, while the new Lord Mayor went to Westminster. After dinner, they marched to St. Paul's, banners waving, waits and trumpets blowing, all throughout the Church, and so back to the Lord Mayor's."¹

On November 25, St. Katherine's Day, was a procession with great lights, following the image of St. Katherine. On January 25, St. Paul's Day, was another goodly procession, with fifty copes of gold, "Hail, festal day!" and a solemn mass. Later on a preacher at Paul's Cross (Dr. Pendleton) was fired at, but the culprit escaped.²

One of the first acts of Mary was the release of Bonner. He came forth from the Marshalsea in all the state of a Bishop. Eleven Bishops brought him to his palace at St. Paul's. There was a great concourse of people shouting "Welcome home!" and as many women as could kissed him. He knelt in prayer on the steps of the Cathedral.

On December 8, Bonner ordered a solemn procession at St. Paul's, and afterwards issued his mandate that every parish church should provide a staff and cope, and go in procession every Sunday, Wednesday and Friday, and pray to God for fine weather through London.³

On October 18, 1553, on the assembly of Convocation in St. Paul's, Weston, Dean of Westminster, was chosen Prolocutor of the Lower House. He began by denouncing the pestiferous Catechism, and the abominable Book of Common Prayer. Six days there was a long and persistent disputation on the Real Presence. The petition that Ridley

¹ Machyn, p. 66. ² *Ibid.*, p. 66 ³ *Ibid.*, pp. 49, 50.

and Rogers might be released from prison to sustain the argument on the Reformers' side was refused, and the burden fell on Philpot. The Queen dissolved the Convocation by a mandate addressed to Bonner, Cranmer being in prison.

The marriage of Philip and Mary having taken place, preparation was made for a State reception of the King at St. Paul's: the great Rood must be re-erected. Bonner, in full pomp, and all his prebendaries assembled in the choir. The Rood lay on the pavement, the doors were closed. The Bishop and clergy having chanted certain prayers, they crept to the Cross and kissed it. It was then weighed up, and stood in its accustomed place. *Te Deum* was sung, and the unconscious bells rang out a merry peal.

After the rebellion of Wyatt against the Spanish marriage, a solemn thanksgiving was held for its suppression.

On September 30, Bishop Gardiner preached at Paul's Cross to the largest assemblage ever believed to have been gathered there. He exhorted the people to give a good reception to King Philip, the Queen's husband, that "most perfect Prince," who was to visit the Cathedral on October 18. Philip rode down with a retinue of Lords from Westminster to St. Paul's, Lord Montagu bearing the sword before him. He was received at the west door, and conducted under a canopy up the nave. Mass was sung by a Spaniard.¹

On the Second Sunday in Advent (A.D. 1554), Cardinal Pole was received at the Cathedral. The Legate, Priests and Clerks were all in most gorgeous attire, with new copes and crosses. The City Guilds were in all their splendour, the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen at their head. The Lord Chancellor (Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester), with the other Bishops, assembled at the Bishop

¹ Machyn, p. 72.

of London's Palace. The Cardinal arrived at Baynard's Castle from Lambeth by water at nine o'clock. He was received by the Lord Mayor, and conducted to the Cathedral preceded by a cross and two magnificent pillars of silver. At the Cathedral he was met by the Lord Chancellor and the Bishops. They moved in procession to the choir, and took their seats. At ten o'clock came the King for the Morning Mass, with 100 English, 100 Spanish, 100 German guards, and a vast retinue of nobles and knights. All listened in the most profound silence. Gardiner preached on the text, "Now it is high time to awake out of sleep." He deplored the recent time of heresies, chief of which was the renunciation of Papal supremacy (to which he and Bonner had contributed); and dwelt on the graciousness of reconciliation through the Legate, and the magnanimity of the great and wealthy King who had come to help restore order to the realm.

A few days after, November 29, Bonner ordered a procession and *Te Deum* in honour of the child about to be born to Mary.¹ Later in the year, when the expected time was approaching, St. Paul's rang with thanksgiving. On January 25 (1555), St. Paul's Day, a procession of ecclesiastics to the number of 160 set forth from St. Paul's, with 90 crosses, chanting, "Hail, festal day!"² On the last of April, came the false tidings that the Queen's Grace was delivered of a son. The bells of St. Paul's clanged in joy, followed by the other churches, and in divers places *Te Deum* was sung. "And on the morrow after it was turned other ways to the pleasure of God, and I trust that He will remember the true servants that put their trust in Him when they call on Him."

"For this consummation more awful offerings, human holocausts, were offered, more terrible manifestations of their faith."³

¹ Machyn, p. 77.

² *Ibid.*, p. 78.

³ Milman's *Annals*, p. 241.

"St. Paul's gave two of the noblest victims to the Marian persecution, her Bishop, Ridley, and a Canon of her Chapter, the worthy Proto-martyr of the Reformed English Church, John Rogers."¹ There is good reason for believing that Rogers was the Matthews who finished Tyndale's translation of the Bible. His trial took place in St. Mary Overy (the present Southwark Cathedral). The pathetic details may be read in Foxe. "It was the martyrdom, and the circumstances of that martyrdom, that made so deep, so indelible an impression upon the English mind and soul. So strong was the popular excitement that he was removed by night in secrecy from St. Mary Overy to Newgate. As he was led from his prison to Smithfield, his wife and nine children (another was about to be born) stood watching his 'triumph' almost with joyousness. With wife and children he had been refused a parting interview, by Gardiner first, when in prison, by Bonner afterwards, just before his execution; for what had a consecrated priest to do with wife and children? It was De Noailles, the Romanist French Ambassador, who said that John Rogers passed on, not as to his death, but as to his wedding."²

The trial of Bishop Ridley took place with that of Bishop Latimer at Oxford, and they were burned together on October 16, 1555, in front of Balliol College. For that most touching and impressive history we must look once more to the full and simple narrative of Foxe.

Bonner, in the meantime, had emerged from prison in a humour of brutal fury. He wrote insulting letters to Ridley. One day he struck a knight, Sir J. Jocelyn, a violent blow on the ear. The gentle Feckenham, now Dean of St. Paul's, made an apology for the Bishop. "His long im-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

² Milman's *Annals*, p. 244.

prisonment in the Marshalsea, and the miseries and hardships so altered him, that in these passions he is not master of himself"; to which the knight merely replied, "Now that he is come forth of the Marshalsea, he is ready to go to Bedlam."¹

Bonner began with a monition to his clergy that none was to be admitted to partake the Sacrament of the Altar without a certificate of auricular confession; altars were to be prepared with books and vestments for mass. To Bonner the Queen addressed her Articles, inhibiting marriage of the clergy, and ordering the dismissal of the wives of those married. In the spirit of an Inquisitor he appointed commissioners to search out the lives and conduct of every clerk in his diocese: was he a brawler, scolder, hawker, hunter, fornicator, drunkard, blasphemer of God and His saints? was he married? if married, and having put away his wife, did he keep up clandestine intercourse with her? were his sermons orthodox? did he associate with heretics? did he exhort his parishioners to go to mass and confession? No act of a clergyman, dress, tonsure, private moments, almost his thoughts, were free from this tyrannical scrutiny. The Council itself had to interpose; Bonner had acted without their authority. He was at first defiant, but the City of London offered such resistance that reluctantly and sullenly he withdrew his injunctions.²

"All the splendid ceremonials and processions with which the Marian Bishops endeavoured to dazzle and win over the not reluctant populace, could not obliterate the feelings excited by those more dismal processions day after day to Smithfield. There is something absolutely appalling in the strange succession, the rapid alternation, of these scenes as they appear in the diary of Robert

¹ Machyn, p. 95.

² Wilkins, iv. p. 105; Froude, vi. p. 257.

Machyn, which records whatever took place in St. Paul's and in its neighbourhood. . . . It is appalling enough to read, though at such times mercy could not be expected to such rebels: 'The 7th day of February was commanded by the Queen and the Bishop of London that St. Paul's and every parish church should sing *Te Deum* and ring their bells for the great victory over Wyatt's rebellion. On the 12th, a new pair of gallows were set up, fourteen in number, at each of the gates in London. On the 13th, were hanging on these gallows many bodies, some quartered, some in chains, and those quartered bodies and heads set on the gates of London.' But these were the penalties of unsuccessful rebellion. On the 25th, St. Paul's Day, was the reception of the Legate, already described. 'On the 28th, 29th, and 30th, Hooper, Crome, Rogers, Bradford, Saunders, cast to be burned in divers places. February 14 Rogers was burned in Smithfield. The 9th of February were arraigned before the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs and the Bishop of London and divers Doctors of the Council, six heretics of Essex and Suffolk, to be burned in divers places.' Next, 'March 8, a procession from St. Paul's through Cheapside and Bucklersbury, and so back through Watling Street to St. Paul's, the children of St. Paul's and the Hospital, the Bishop, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and all the Crafts, and all the Priests and Clerks singing. On May 25 was arraigned at St. Paul's for heresy, before the Bishop, Master Cardmaker, sometime Vicar of St. Bride's, in Fleet Street, one John Warren, a cloth-maker in Walbrook, and cast to be burned, and carried back to Newgate. The 24th of May was a goodly procession of the children of the Hospital (Christ's), and all the schools in London. The 30th May were burned in Smithfield Master Cardmaker and Master Warren. On the 23rd August was burned at Stratford-le-Bow, Middlesex, the wife of

John Warren; and the same woman had a son, taken at her burning, and carried to his sister in Newgate. On June 17 were performed at St. Paul's the obsequies of the Queen of Spain. In July went to Smithfield, to be burned, Master Bradford, a great preacher in King Edward's days, and a tallow-chandler's 'prentice, dwelling by Newgate, with a great concourse of people.'"¹

In the midst of these horrors comes a strange entry. In the reign of Edward I. Sir Walter le Baud gave to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, annually on the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul (January 25), a fat doe, and on the other day of St. Paul, in the summer, a fat buck from his estate in Essex. These gifts used to be received at the west door, conducted without, about and within the Church, up to the high altar with noisy merriment. Bonner evidently revived the custom. "On the last day of June, St. Paul's Day, was a goodly procession at St. Paul's. There was a priest of each parish in the Diocese of London, with a cope, and the Bishop of London, wearing his mitre, and after came a fat buck, and his head with his horns borne upon a pole, and forty horns blowing before the beast and behind.""²

On August 15, 1557, yet one more gorgeous procession at St. Paul's, to celebrate Philip's victory at St. Quentin. Orders came for the clergy of all the churches to meet at St. Paul's in their copes. They marched round Paul's Cross, where they were joined by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and all went to the Cathedral. The sermon was preached at Paul's Cross by Harpsfield, Archdeacon of London.

Pole was implicated in the burnings. There is a document from his register, signed with his seal, in which five persons, John Cornford of Wrotham, Christopher Browne of Maidstone, John Hurst of

¹ Machyn, pp. 81, 82, etc.; Milman, pp. 250, 251, 252.

² Machyn, p. 147, A.D. 1557.

Ashford, Catherine Knight of Shoreham, Alice Smith of Beddenden (all in Pole's diocese) are arraigned and made over to the secular arm, to be burned.

Mary kept it up to the last. Four days before she died (November 13, 1558) the Council, of which Pole was the head, issued this royal brief: "Since our Reverend Father in Christ, Edmond, Bishop of London, lawfully proceeding, and according to his office in causes of heretical pravity, has pronounced and declared certain manifest heretics, and delivered them to the secular arm, we do, willing to extirpate root and branch such heretics from our kingdom, adjudge such heretics, according to the law and custom of our kingdom, to be burned with fire; we command such heretics to be really burned with fire in public view."¹

On November 17, Queen Mary died: within twenty-two hours of her death, Cardinal Pole. Nearly at the same time died no less than thirteen Bishops, and a great number of the clergy, from quartan fever, then greatly prevalent. A strong barrier to the revival of reforming views was thus removed.

¹ Wilkins, vol. iv. p. 177 (Foxe).

CHAPTER XIII

ST. PAUL'S, QUEEN ELIZABETH AND THE REVIVED REFORMATION

ON November 17, 1558, the day of Queen Mary's death, and of the accession of Queen Elizabeth, Elizabeth's chaplain, Dr. Bill, made a goodly sermon at Paul's Cross, but gave no sign of future policy. From that day, for some months, by the new Queen's prudence, Paul's Cross was silent. It was one of the articles in Cecil's Memorial of the first Acts recommended to the Queen on her accession, to consider the condition of the preacher at Paul's Cross, that no occasion be given by him to stir up any dispute concerning the governance of the realm.¹ "A proclamation was presently set forth that no man should alter any rites or ceremonies at that time used in the Church; and, because, in such divisions of opinions, the pulpits often serve as drums and fifes to inflame fury, proclamation was made that no man should preach but such as should be allowed by authority. . . . Hereupon no sermon was preached at Paul's Cross until the Rehearsal Sermon was made upon the Sunday after Easter."² The Roman rites continued for the present in the Cathedral; but another royal proclamation order Epistle and Gospel to be in English.

On April 11, Sunday after Easter, Dr. Samson was to preach at the Cross. The keys (after five months' disuse) were not forthcoming; when the Lord Mayor ordered the door to be opened by a smith, the place was found almost too filthy and

¹ Strype's *Annals*, i. 7.

² Hayward's *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*, p. 5.

unclean to be used (the Cathedral pigeons had evidently been in undisturbed occupation.¹ Another day in April appeared Dr. Bill (now the Queen's Almoner), to explain why the recusant Marian Bishops had been sent to the Tower. On May 14, the preacher was the future Bishop of London, Dr. Grindal, before the Queen's Council, the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Northampton, the Lord Treasurer, a great assemblage of nobles and knights, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. Next Sunday, the preacher was the future Bishop of Winchester, Dr. Horne, before Lord Mayor, City dignitaries, many judges and serjeants-at-law, and a crowd of people.

A paper drawn up by one of the Council (Sir Thomas Smith or Sir William Cecil) sketches the policy afterwards followed by Elizabeth. "Assuming that it was desirable that the Church of England should be 'reduced to its former purity,' the writer goes on to consider the best means of effecting this. He recommends that those who had weight with Queen Mary should be gradually 'abased,' and those who had been faithful to the interests of Elizabeth advanced to authority. That, under the pressure of the Præmunire statute, the Bishops and clergy who had enriched themselves by the late Queen's concessions should be made to disgorge their wealth to the Crown. That the sheriffs and justices in the counties should be removed. That not too much attention should be paid to the demands of the ultra-reformers for 'better were it that they should suffer, than her Highness or the Commonwealth should shake and be in danger.' That a Commission of Divines should be at once appointed to revise the English Prayer-book, with a view to its restoration, and that until this was done, a 'strait prohibition' should be made of all innovations."²

¹ Hayward's *Annals*.

² Burnet's *Records*, book. iii. No. i.

London and other Bishoprics were not filled up till June 23. The palace of the Bishop of London, by St. Paul's, was assigned for the entertainment of the French Ambassadors for the Coronation, the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Duke of Montmorency, the Marquis of Fronsac, the Bishop of Orleans, the Chevalier d'Aubespere. For several days they passed in splendid procession to dine at Court, and after dinner to enjoy music, and the baiting of the bear and the bull.

On June 6, the preacher was Sandys, future Bishop of Worcester, Bishop of London and Archbishop of York. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen were present, the Earl of Bedford and other nobles. The Apostles' Mass was now discontinued, and soon after the mass itself came to an end.

On June 18, a vast congregation heard Jewel, the famous Oxford preacher, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury. On June 23, five Bishops were elected in Bow Church: Parker as Primate, Grindal Bishop of London, Scorey Bishop of Hereford, Barlow Bishop of Chichester, and another. Grindal and the others were not consecrated till the following December.

On August 11 appeared at the Cathedral the Queen's Commissioners to hold their Visitation. Horne, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, was at their head. They took their seats in the Church. The English Litany was read, and Horne preached on "the wise and faithful servant." They then adjourned to the Chapter House. The names of all and singular of the said Church were cited. Bonner had been removed, and Henry Cole, the Dean (formerly Provost of Eton, appointed to St. Paul's in 1556, died 1579), deprived. William May, the Dean previously dispossessed, had escaped burning, but was not re-installed. Of the thirty prebendaries, a considerable number had been appointed by Bonner.

It was by order of the Commissioners that the Cathedral was to be purged of its superstitions. A few days after, the Rood raised with such solemn ceremony by Bonner, fell again. The images disappeared: in St. Paul's, in quiet, with no irreverence. These orders were delivered, in the absence of Bishop and Dean, to the Treasurer, Saxey. The Archdeacon of London (John Harpsfield) exhibited the Book of Statutes and Ordinances. Later he was directed to produce a full and faithful inventory of all and singular the jewels, ornaments and whatsoever books belonging to the said Church. Harpsfield, the Archdeacon, and Nicholas Harpsfield, the famous Papal preacher, refused to submit, and were bound to appear. The Treasurer and others were ordered to provide a decent Holy Table for the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Henceforth in the Cathedral none were to use any shaven crowns, amices or vestments called copes. The Harpsfields, Wallerton, four prebendaries and the Archdeacon of Colchester were deprived.

On September 8, 1559, the obsequies of Henry II. of France (who died on July 20, and had been the inexorable persecutor of the Reformers) were performed in the Cathedral with extraordinary magnificence. Elizabeth's aunt, Mary Tudor, had been married to his maternal grandfather, Louis XII. The chronicler is full of "the hearse, scutcheons, coats-of-arms, with great crowns, a great pall of cloth of gold, coat-armour, helmet, and mantle of cloth of gold, target, sword and crest. The choir was hung with black, with armorial bearings. Lord Treasurer Cecil, chief mourner, next my Lord Chamberlain, many nobles, Lords Hunsdon and Abergavenny."¹ Next day, the 9th, all the heralds—Garter, Clarencieux, Norroy, Somerset, Chester, Richmond, York,

¹ Machyn.

Windsor, Lancaster, Rouge Croix, Rouge Dragon, Bluemantle and Portcullis—came in their array from the Bishop's Palace. The sermon was preached by Scorey, Bishop of Hereford. The clergy had black gowns and great hoods lined with silk, and drest caps.¹ The expenses amounted to £783 10s. 10d., and were borne by the Queen.²

September 30 began the new service in the Cathedral "at the same time the Apostles' Mass was wont to be sung."

On November 26, Jewel, Bishop-Elect of Salisbury, preached at Paul's Cross, and first uttered his memorable challenge defying the adherents of the old religion to produce a passage from the authoritative Fathers of the first six centuries in favour of the peculiar doctrines of Rome on the Mass. The sermon was enlarged and preached before the Court, March 17, 1560.

On December 17, 1559, Archbishop Parker was consecrated in the Chapel of Lambeth Palace, according to the Ordinal of King Edward's Second Book, by Bishops Barlow, Scorey, Coverdale and Hodgkins; and a few days after, the new Archbishop, with the assistance of some other Bishops, consecrated Grindal to London, Cox to Ely, Sandys to Worcester and Merick to Bangor. In January, 1560, five more were consecrated; Young to St. Davids, Bullingham to Lincoln, Jewel to Salisbury, Davis to St. Asaph, and Guest to Rochester. Bonner had been deposed on May 25, 1559. He had presided at Elizabeth's first Convocation, which voted a strong Papal address to the Crown; he with other Bishops, had stood aloof from Elizabeth's Coronation, though his gorgeous robes had been borrowed for Oglethorpe of Carlisle, the one officiating Bishop. In the House of Lords, with Archbishop Heath of York and other Bishops, he had protested against Elizabeth's Acts

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Strypes Annals*, i. 1.

in religion. It was not till April, 1560, that he was committed to his former prison, the Marshalsea. That imprisonment was for his security against the popular detestation. It "turned to his safety, being so hated by the people, that it would not have been safe to him to have walked in public, lest he should have been stoned or knocked on the head by the enraged friends and acquaintance of those whom he had but a little before so barbarously beaten and butchered. He grew old in prison, and died a natural death in the year 1569, not suffering any want, or hunger, or cold. For he lived daintily, and had the use of garden and orchards when he was minded to walk abroad and take the air."¹

In 1559, on March 31 and April 3, was held a disputation, or great debate, in Westminster Abbey, on the proposed religious changes. The Lord Keeper presided, eight disputants were elected from each side, and Parliament was prorogued that the members might be present. For the Romanists appeared White, Bishop of Winchester; Bayne of Lichfield, Scott of Chester, Watson of Lincoln, Cole, Dean of St. Paul's; Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury; Langdale, Archdeacon of Lewes; and Chadsey, Prebendary of St. Paul's: for the Reformers, Scorey, formerly Bishop of Chichester; Cox, late Dean of Westminster; Horne, late Dean of Durham; Aylmer, late Archdeacon of Stow, and Whitehead, Grindal, Guest and Jewel. The history of it belongs to Westminster, or the Church at large; it is only mentioned here because of Grindal.

Edmund Grindal was born at St. Bees in Cumberland. He was Fellow and Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge, Doctor of Divinity, and Chaplain to Bishop Ridley. A voluntary exile for the faith during the reign of Queen Mary, he was

¹ *Strype's Annals.*

enthroned Bishop of London on December 23, 1559. Eleven years after, in May 1570, he was translated to York, and in February 1575, he was raised to Canterbury. He hesitated greatly about accepting the See of London, partly on account of the alienation of episcopal estates by the Crown, partly by reason of the Marian vestments, which had not yet been discarded. His friend Peter Martyr, the oracle of the Reformers, reassured him on both these points. Soon after his inauguration (February 2, 1560) there was a riot outside the Deanery, then inhabited by the French Ambassador, because mass had been said in the house. The authority of the Lord Mayor was effective.

On August 12, 1560, the first year of Grindal's episcopate, died William May, the reinstated Dean of St. Paul's. He had been designated Archbishop of York. He was buried in the Cathedral, and Bishop Grindal preached his funeral sermon.¹

In 1561, a terrific storm burst over London. The Church of St. Martin's, Ludgate Hill, was struck by lightning; huge stones came toppling down on the roof and on the pavement. The alarm was not over when lightning was seen to flash into an aperture in the steeple of the Cathedral. The spire was of wood covered with lead. The fire burned downwards for four hours with irresistible force, the bells melted, the timber blazed, the stones crumbled and fell. The lead flowed down in sheets of flame, threatening, but happily not damaging, the organ.

There is an interesting and unique Tract in the British Museum on this fire, published six days after, on June 10. It speaks of "a marvellous great fiery lightning, between one and two o'clock in the afternoon, on which immediately ensued a most terrible hideous crack of thunder, such as

¹ Machyn, p. 241.

seldom hath been heard, and that by estimation of sense directly over the City of London. Divers persons being on the River Thames and others in the fields near adjoining to the City affirmed that they saw a long and spear-pointed flame of fire run through the top of the Broche or Shaft of Paul's steeple, from east westward. And some of the parish of St. Martin's then being in the streets did feel a marvellous strong air or whirlwind with a smell like brimstone coming from Paul's Church. Between three and four o'clock a smoke was espied by divers to break out under the bowl of the said shaft of Paul's, and namely by Peter Johnson, Principal Registrar to the Bishop of London, who immediately brought word to the Bishop's home. But suddenly after, as it were in a moment, the flame broke forth in a circle like a garland round about the Broche, about two yards under the bowl of the said shaft, and increased in suchwise that within a quarter of an hour, or little more, the Cross and Eagle on the top fell down upon the south transept. The Lord Mayor being sent for, and his brethren, came with all speed possible, and had a short consultation as in a case might be, with the Bishop of London and others, for the best way of remedy. And thither also came the Lord Keeper and the Lord Treasurer, who by their wisdom and authority directed as good order as in so great a confusion could possibly be. Some counselled that the steeple should be shot down with cannon, to prevent the fire spreading: others were for ladders and axes to be brought, to hew down the parts of the roof nearest to the fire; but before the difficulties of such sudden plans could be overcome (the multitude of idle gazers was not the least), the most part of the highest roof of the Church was on fire. After the fall of the Cross and Eagle, the beams and brands of the steeple fell down on every side, and fired the other three roofs. So that in one hour's space the Broche of the

steeple was burnt down to the battlements, and the most part of the highest roof of the Church likewise consumed.

“The state of the steeple and Church seeming both desperate, my Lord Mayor was advised by one Master Winter of the Admiralty to convert the most part of his care and provision to preserve the Bishop's Palace adjoining to the north-west end of the Church; lest, from that house, being large, the fire might spread to the streets adjoining. Whereupon the ladders, buckets and labourers were commanded thither, and by great labour and diligence a piece of the roof of the north aisle was cut down, and the fire so stayed, and by much water that part quenched, and the said Bishop's house preserved. It pleased God also at the same time both to turn and calm the wind, which before was vehement, and continued still high and great in other parts without the City. There were above five hundred persons that laboured in carrying and filling water. Divers substantial citizens took pains as if they had been labourers; so did also divers and sundry gentlemen. In the evening came the Lord Clinton from the Court at Greenwich, whom the Queen's Majesty, as soon as the rage of the fire was espied by Her Majesty and others in the Court, of the pitiful inclination and love that Her Gracious Highness did bear both to the said Church and the City, sent to assist my Lord Mayor for the suppressing of the fire: who with his wisdom, authority and diligent travel did very much good therein.

“About ten o'clock the fierceness of the fire was past, the timber being fallen and lying burning upon the vaults of stone, the walls yet (God be thanked!) standing unperished; so as only the timber of the whole Church was consumed, and the lead molten, saving the most part of the two low aisles of the choir, and a piece of the north aisle, and another small piece of the south aisle in the body of the

Church. In the whole City without the Church absolutely not a stick caught fire, notwithstanding that in divers parts and streets, and within the houses both adjoining, and of a good distance, as in Fleet Street and Newgate Market, by the violence of fire, burning coals of great bigness fell down almost as thick as hailstones, and flakes of lead were blown abroad into the gardens without the City, like flakes of snow in breadth, without hurt, God be thanked! to any house or person.

“On Sunday following, being the 8th day of June, the Reverend Father in God the Bishop of Durham, at Paul's Cross, made a learned and fruitful sermon, exhorting the auditory to a general repentance, and namely to humble obedience to the laws and superior powers, which virtue is much decayed in these our days; seeming to have intelligence from the Queen's Highness that Her Majesty intendeth that more severity of laws shall be executed against persons disobedient, as well in causes of religion as civil, to the great rejoicing of his auditors. He exhorted also his audience to take this as a general warning to the whole realm, and namely to the City of London, of some greater plague to follow if amendment of life in all states did not ensue. He much reprov'd those persons which would assign the cause of this wrath of God to any particular state of men, or that were diligent to look into other men's lives and could see no faults in themselves; but wished that every man would descend into himself, and say with David, I am he that hath sinned: and so forth to that effect very godly. He also not only reprov'd the profanation of the said Church of Paul's of long time heretofore abused by walking, jangling, brawling, fighting, bargaining, etc., especially in sermons and service time: but also answered to the objections of such evil-tongued persons which do impute this token of God's deserved ire to alteration, or rather reformation, of religion;

declaring out of ancient records and histories the like, yea, and even greater matters had befallen in the time of superstition and ignorance. For in the first year of King Stephen, not only the said Church of Paul's was burnt, but also a great part of the City, that is to say, from London Bridge to St. Clement's without Temple Bar, was by fire consumed. And in the days of King Henry VI., the steeple of Paul's was also fired by lightning, although it was then stayed by the diligence of the citizens, the fire being then by likelihood not so fierce. Many other suchlike common calamities he rehearsed which happened in other countries, both nigh to this realm, and far off, where the Church of Rome hath most authority; and therefore concluded the surest way to be that every man should judge, examine and amend himself, and embrace, believe and truly follow the Word of God; and earnestly to pray to God to turn away from us His deserved wrath and indignation, whereof this His terrible work is a most certain warning, if we repent not unfeignedly."

To the restoration the Queen gave one thousand marks in gold, one thousand marks in timber. The City of London gave a great benevolence, and after that three-fifteenths to be speedily paid. The clergy of the Province of Canterbury gave the fortieth part of the income of their benefices charged with first-fruits, the thirtieth of the rest. The total sum raised from the clergy was £1410. The Bishop of London in two donations gave £248; the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, £136; the two Chief Justices and Officers of the Court of Common Pleas, £34; of King's Bench, £17; the Bishop of London further for timber, £720.¹

The Lord Mayor took the lead immediately. He personally superintended the works, with "men of knowledge" to overlook the workmen. In one

¹ Strype's edition of Stowe, iii. 150.

month a false roof was erected to keep out the weather. By the end of the year the aisles were covered in and roofed over with lead. During the next year the great roofs of the west and east ends had been prepared with large timbers framed in Yorkshire, brought by sea, set up and covered with lead. The north and south transepts were covered in by the end of April 1566; one hundred years before the far more terrible and final conflagration under Charles II.

On November 1, 1561, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and all the Crafts of London, in their liveries, went to the Cathedral with a vast retinue (eighty men carrying torches); the Lord Mayor tarried the sermon, which lasted into the night, and returned home by the light of the torches.¹

The spire, however, remained in ruins, and was never re-erected. The repairs of James I. and Charles I. were confined to another part of the building. The Queen was herself extremely angry that the spire was not restored. The excuse was that Her Majesty's subsidies were pressing so heavily on the City that time was absolutely necessary.

Bishop Pilkington's remonstrance about the traffic in St. Paul's is illustrated by an Act of the Common Council of London, in the first and second years of Philip and Mary, August 1: "Forasmuch as the material temples of God were first ordained for the lawful and devout assembly of the people, there to lift up their hearts and to laud and praise Almighty God, and to hear the divine service and most Holy Word and Gospel sincerely said, sung and taught, are not to be used as markets or other profane uses."² It complains that many of the inhabitants and others were accustomed, unseemly and irreverently, "to make their common carriage of great vessels of ale or beer, great baskets full

¹ Machyn, p. 271.

² Stowe, Appendix, p. 937

of bread, fish, flesh and fruit, fardels of stuff and other gross wares, through the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's, and some in leading mules, horses and other beasts irreverently to the great dishonour and displeasure of Almighty God. The Council prohibit all these abuses under fines for the first and second offence; for the third, imprisonment for two days and nights without bail or mainprize."¹

Queen Elizabeth, also, issued a proclamation that "if any persons shall make any fray, or draw or put out his hand to any weapon for that purpose, or shoot any hand-gun or dagger within the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, or churchyard adjoining thereto, or within the limits of the boundaries compassing the same, they shall suffer imprisonment for two months. Any of Her Majesty's subjects who shall walk up and down, or spend the time in the same, in any bargain or other profane cause, and make any kind of disturbance during the time of preaching, lecturing or other divine service, shall incur the pain of imprisonment and fine, the fine to go to the repair of the Church. No agreement was to be made for the payment of money in the Cathedral; no burden to be carried through the Church; with a reservation for any covenant or bond already made."

An evil with the inveteracy of centuries was hard to cure. Shakespeare makes Falstaff engage Bardolph in Paul's. Dekker, in his *Gull's Handbook*, gives comical details of the gulls and knaves who swarmed in all corners. Ben Jonson lays the scene in the third act of his "Every man out of his Humour" in the middle aisle of St. Paul's. "The knave of the play boasts that he has posted up his bills without observation, and precious bills they were to be read on the walls of a church. The characters which old Ben though a coarse yet not

¹ Stowe, Appendix, p. 937.

usually an irreverent writer, scruples not to assemble in the Church, is the most vivid illustration of the extent to which the evil had grown."¹

Bishop Earle describes it wittily in his delightful *Microcosmography*. "Paul's Walk is the land's epitome, as you may call it; the lesser isle of Great Britain. It is more than this; the whole world's map, which you may here discern in its perfected motion, justling and turning. It is a heap of stones and men, with a vast confusion of languages; and were the steeple not sanctified, nothing liker Babel. The noise in it is like that of bees, a strange hum, mixed of walking tongues and feet; it is a kind of still roar or loud whisper. It is the great exchange of all discourse, and no business whatsoever but is here striving and afoot. It is the synod of all parties politic, jointed and laid together, in most serious position, and they are not half so busy at the Parliament. . . . It is the market of young lecturers, who you may cheapen here at all rates and sizes. It is the general mint of all famous lies, which are here, like the legends of Popery, first coined and stamped in the Church. All inventions are emptied here and not few pockets. The best sign of a temple in it is that it is the thieves' sanctuary, which rob more safely in a crowd than in a wilderness, whilst every searcher is a bush to hide them. It is the other expense of the day, after plays, taverns, . . . and men have some oaths left to swear here. . . . The visitants are all men without exceptions, but the principal inhabitants and possessors are stale knights and captains out of service; men of long rapiers and breeches, which after all turn merchants here and traffic for news. Some make it a preface to their dinner and travel for a stomach; but thriftier men make it their ordinary, and board here very cheap." A melancholy picture!

¹ Milman's *Annals*, p. 287.

Restored after the great fire of 1561, St. Paul's received Elizabeth's first reformed Convocation, January 19, 1563. First came the Litany in English, then *Veni Creator*. The sermon, as addressed to the clergy, was preached in Latin (the custom remains to this day), on the text, "Feed My flock," by Day, Provost of Eton. Then the first Psalm in English. Holy Communion was next administered by Archbishop Parker. Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, was elected Prolocutor. Following the innovation of Wolsey, the Primate then adjourned the Convocation to Westminster, where it held its sittings in Henry VII.'s Chapel.

Having held the Bishopric of London ten years, in May 1570 Grindal was moved to York, ere long to end at Canterbury. Everywhere he bore the character of profound piety and gentleness. His unwillingness to proceed against recalcitrant Puritans is acknowledged. Of him Holinshed wrote: "His book was his bride, and his study his bride-chamber."

His successor in the See of London was *Edwin Sandys*, Bishop of Worcester, installed July 20, 1570. Sandys was of gentle birth, Master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, and Vice-Chancellor when Lady Jane Grey was proclaimed Queen. About this he got into trouble, and was imprisoned for some months. On his release at the intercession of friends, he went into Germany with his wife, and stayed there till the death of Queen Mary. Appointed Bishop of Worcester by Elizabeth, he remained there more than ten years. After six years in London, he followed Grindal at York, where he held the Archbishopric about twelve years, and was buried at Southwell Minster, then in that diocese.

On the night of May 25, 1571, an indignant crowd was gathered round the episcopal gates, reading a great parchment with the Papal arms and signature, the Bull of excommunication and deposition

which Pius V. had launched against Queen Elizabeth. Henceforth all English Romanists faithful to the Pope were constrained to regard the Queen as an enemy, and to separate themselves from the Church which she upheld. This action of the Pope is deplored and condemned by all moderate Romanist writers, and it was repudiated by a great number, especially amongst the laity, of the English Romanists at that day. The fanatic who had nailed the Bull to the Bishop's gates seems to have disdained flight. He was arrested, tried, condemned and, on August 8, hanged at the scene of his action.

Puritanism was becoming more active, and was perplexing to Sandys. This is not in any sense a history of the Church of England, but only an attempt to show how, during a long succession of centuries, current movements of thought affected the life of St. Paul's Cathedral. The candid observer of national religious life notices that in every generation there is generally some predominant tide of thought and feeling, often, perhaps, more of feeling than of thought, made up of many contributing influences and causes, which attracts to itself that which is most generous, noble, aspiring and religious among the people. Had Elizabeth herself been really a religious woman, she might have attracted those deep, stirring, religious emotions to the true and beautiful ideals of the reformed and primitive Church of England. As it was, there were two currents throughout her reign, of the same fundamental materials, but flowing in different directions, like the battling tides in the Pentland Firth.

Sandys was succeeded by *John Aylmer*, of an ancient Norfolk family. He was educated both at Oxford and Cambridge, was chaplain to Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, and tutor to his daughter, Lady Jane Grey. In 1553, he became Archdeacon of Suffolk, but not conforming to Queen Mary's

Romanism, retired to Germany till the accession of Elizabeth, when he was appointed one of the eight champions of the Reformation in the great debate against the mediævalists. In 1562, he became Archdeacon of Lincoln, and was consecrated Bishop of London on March 24, in 1576. "He was a great enemy to the Puritan faction," says Newcourt, the historian of the Diocese of London, "and much hated by them." "His visitation questions are severe, searching, inquisitorial. On one occasion he suspended thirty-eight of his clergy."¹ The Puritans were now questioning episcopal authority itself, and Aylmer's early writings were capable of quotation. In his answer to Knox's *Monstrous Regimen of Women*, he had written, "Come off, ye Bishops, yield up your superfluities; give up your thousands; be content with hundreds as they be in other reformed Churches, who be as great learned men as ye are. Let your portion be priest-like, not prince-like." Aylmer, as Bishop, showed the weakness, common to not a few other good men, of fondness for money—a story about his dilapidations, a story about felling timber, a story about being forced to pay compensation to an unhappy clergyman improperly condemned, a story about leaving £16,000, a vast sum, equal to about fifteen times as much. Martin Marprelate was now opening on the Bishops: the chief objects of his satire were Whitgift and Aylmer. He attacked Aylmer for playing bowls on the great lawn at Fulham on Sunday afternoon, and for unfitting words during the heat of the game; he attacked him for his lack of preaching, and called him "Dumb John of London." Aylmer longed for the peace and quiet of the See of Ely, but died in 1594.

His successor was far from a great man. *Richard Fletcher* was Fellow of Corpus, Cambridge,

¹ Neal, i. p. 140; Milman, p. 299.

Prebendary of Islington and Dean of Peterborough (1583). He was present with the unhappy Mary Queen of Scots when she suffered death at Fotheringhay, in February 1586, where he urged her to renounce her religion, contrary to all Christianity and humanity, as it was by many there present so taken, to her great disturbance; and when the Earl of Kent said, "So perish all the Queen's enemies!" he alone replied, "Amen!" He fell under the Queen's displeasure by marrying a second wife, a very handsome widow named Lady Baker (Milman calls her the widow of Sir George Giffard). Fletcher was not only repelled from Court, but wholly suspended from his functions. The suspension was in the end removed, but not the exile from Court. He is said to have died suddenly by excessive smoking of tobacco. He was the father of Fletcher, the dramatist associated with Beaumont.

Fletcher was succeeded by *Richard Bancroft*, of a good Lancashire family; his mother was niece to Dr. Hugh Curwyn, Archbishop of Dublin. Bancroft's steps were rapid—Prebendary of Dublin, chaplain to Bishop Cox of Ely, Rector of Taverham (Norfolk), Rector of St. Andrew's, Holborn, Treasurer of St. Paul's, Prebendary of Brondesbury in St. Paul's, Prebendary of Westminster; and he was at length consecrated Bishop of London, May 8, 1597. In 1604 he became Archbishop of Canterbury, and in 1608 Chancellor of the University of Oxford. He is famous for his sermon at Paul's Cross, A.D. 1588, on the divine right of episcopacy, a view not usually held by the earlier Reformers.

During almost the whole reign of Elizabeth, and for a few years that of James, a man of a far higher stamp was Dean of St. Paul's, *Alexander Nowell*, author of the Catechism. He was Fellow of Brasenose, Oxford, and afterwards principal, and grew very famous for religious learning. When (1595) he became head of his college he was created Doctor

of Divinity, with precedence over all the Doctors in the University. For thirty years he preached the first and last sermons in Lent before the Queen, dealing very faithfully with her, but without exciting her resentment. "He was a learned man, charitable to the poor, especially if they had anything of a scholar in them, and a grèater comforter of afflicted consciences."¹

Nowell had two brushes with the imperious Queen. "Taken with scriptural engravings from Germany, no doubt some of those rude but spirited illustrations of sacred history in which the German reformers took delight, he placed in the Queen's closet at St. Paul's a splendid prayer-book, richly bound and ornamented with these designs, richly illuminated." Somehow the Queen took offence against these unfortunate pictures, though she had hardly given up her crucifix and lighted candles. "'Who placed this book on my cushion?' Her voice bespoke her anger. The trembling Dean acknowledged that he had. 'Wherefore did you so?' 'To present your Majesty with a New Year's gift.' 'You could never present me with a worse.' 'Why so, Madam?' 'In the cuts resembling angels and saints; nay, grosser absurdities. Pictures resembling the Holy Trinity!' The Dean faltered out that he meant no harm. 'You must needs be ignorant, then! Have you forgotten our proclamation against images, pictures and Romish relics in the churches? Was it read in your deanery?' The Dean acknowledged that it was, and again pleaded ignorance. 'If so, Mr. Dean, God grant you His spirit and more wisdom for the future!' The Queen then demanded where the pictures came from. When she heard that they came from Germany, 'It was well it was a stranger. Had it been one of my subjects, we should have questioned the matter.'"²

Nowell was for a short time out of favour; but

¹ Newcourt, p. 50.

² Strype, vol. i. p. 409.

we find him before long preaching at Court, and seemingly high in the Queen's esteem. Again he was preaching before her on Ash Wednesday, 1572. A book had been dedicated to her as *Principe e Virgine*. This irreverent "impudency," as it seemed to Nowell, roused his indignation. He inveighed against certain superstitions and Popish customs in the book. In the warmth of his harangue he touched on the sign of the Cross. The Queen's voice was heard from the Royal closet commanding him to return from his ungodly digression and revert to his text. The Dean was so utterly dismayed that the Archbishop, to console him, carried him home to dinner.¹

Nowell was summoned to attend the execution of the Duke of Norfolk on June 2, 1572, and, with the Dean of Windsor, to visit the famous Jesuit missionary, Campian, in his dungeon in the Tower, and hold argument with him. Other conferences with the prisoner were held, in which Nowell does not seem to have taken part. Before these latter Campian was tortured to make him betray the hiding-place of his more dangerous colleague, Allen, who escaped to the Continent.

Nowell had the happiness of celebrating the deliverance of Queen and country from the Armada. The victory took place on July 29; on September 8, the preacher at Paul's Cross moved the people to give thanks to God for the overthrow of the Spaniards. Eleven ensigns taken from ships were set on the lower battlements of the Church, except one streamer representing the Virgin with the Saviour in her arms, which waved over the preacher. On Sunday, November 24, the Queen came in state to the Cathedral, with the Privy Council, the nobility, the French Ambassadors, the judges and heralds. The Queen was carried, amid a blare of trumpets,

¹ Churton's *Life of Nowell*, p. 111; Milman's *Annals*, p. 305.

in a chariot "like a throne" drawn by four stately white horses. The sermon was preached by the Bishop of Salisbury, the Queen's Almoner. The procession returned through the Church to Bishop Aylmer's palace, who had the honour of entertaining Her Majesty at dinner. The captured banners, which for some days floated over the Cathedral, were finally suspended in the interior.¹

Elizabeth died on March 24, 1603, in the seventieth year of her age and forty-fifth of her reign, and was buried in the chapel of her grandfather, Henry VII., at Westminster Abbey.

¹ Stowe's *Annals*, p. 751; Milman's *Annals*, p. 310.

CHAPTER XIV

JAMES I.

WHEN James I. acceded to the throne of Elizabeth he found Bancroft Bishop of London, Nowell Dean of St. Paul's, and the admirable Whitgift Archbishop of Canterbury. "Bancroft, at the Hampton Court conference, bore the brunt of the collision between 'the right divine of episcopacy' and 'the right divine of the Book of Discipline.' A few weeks after Whitgift, a great and good Primate, died, and Bancroft moved upward to Canterbury."¹

In 1605, there was a dreary scene in front of the west end of St. Paul's Cathedral. Four of the conspirators of Gunpowder Treason were hanged, drawn and quartered: Sir Everard Digby, Winter, Grant and Bates. Guy Fawkes and others met their fate at Westminster. Garnet the Jesuit suffered the same penalty in St. Paul's Churchyard the following year.²

The repairs of the Cathedral after the fire of 1561 had never been completed in Elizabeth's time, and nothing had been done to the great central tower. Bancroft had been succeeded by *Richard Vaughan*, chaplain and cousin to Bishop Aylmer, Archdeacon of Middlesex, Bishop of Bangor and Bishop of Chester. He died when he had held the See of London little more than two years, and left a reputation for learning and readiness in preaching. Vaughan had been followed by *Thomas Ravis*, of Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford. His eminent learning, gravity and prudence induced King James to appoint him Bishop of Gloucester in 1604, a diocese "overstocked with such ignorants as could scarce brook the name of

¹ Milman's *Annals*, p. 315; *Nugæ Antiquæ*, i. 181.

² Fuller, v. pp. 351, 360.

a Bishop"; he obtained their love, and in 1607 was translated to London, where he died after two years. It was to him that King James addressed a letter on the state of the restoration of St. Paul's. The Crown, being poor, declined altogether the burden of repairs. "Among the possessions that belong to that See there be lands especially appropriated to the fabric of the Church, which, if they had been continually employed to this use, these decays would not have gone so far."

Nothing was done, however, till the eighteenth year of King James's reign; "but then, having been frequently solicited by one Master Henry Farley (for the space of eight years before, who, though a private man, was so extremely zealous to promote the work, that he ceased not by sundry to importune that King therein) his princely heart was moved with such compassion to this decayed fabric, that for prevention of its near approaching ruin (by the corroding quality of the coal smoke, especially in moist weather, whereunto it had been so long subject), considering with himself how vast the charge would be; as also that without very great and public help it could not be borne; to beget the more venerable regard towards so worthy an enterprise, and more effectually to put it forwards, he came in great state thither, upon Sunday the 26th of March, anno 1620, with all the Lords and great officers of his Court, Sir William Cokain being then Lord Mayor; who, with the City in their liveries, then also gave their attendance—(it must have been a procession of magnificent and national impressiveness; the details are given in the appendix to Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's*)—where, alighting at the west door, having kneeled near the brazen pillar, and prayed for good success to this his pious intention, he was received under a canopy, supported by the Dean and Residentiaries, the rest of the prebendaries and dignitaries, with the whole company of singing men, going before.

“And having thus proceeded to the choir, which was adorned with his own hangings for that occasion, and there heard an anthem, he went to the Cross, where the then Reverend Bishop of London (Doctor John King) preached a learned sermon upon a text given him by His Majesty as pertinent to the business in hand, namely Ps. cii. verses 13 and 14 (‘Thou shalt arise and have mercy upon Sion: for it is time that thou have mercy upon her, yea, the time is come. And why? thy servants think upon her stones: and it pitieth them to see her in the dust’); and when the sermon was ended, repaired to the Bishop’s Palace, with his said nobles, and the whole train of his servants attending him, where they were magnificently entertained with several set banquets”¹ (that is, there would be too many to sit down in one hall or at one table).

A Royal Commission was appointed, and it is interesting to note whom it included: the Lord Mayor (Sir Francis Jones), Archbishop Abbot, the Lord Chancellor (Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam), the Earl of Worcester (Lord Privy Seal), the Duke of Lennox (Lord Steward), George Villiers, Marquess of Buckingham (Lord High Admiral), the Marquess of Hamilton, the Earls of Nottingham, Pembroke, Arundel, Southampton, Exeter, Dunfermline, Mar, Kelly and Melrose; Viscounts Wallingford and Doncaster; the Bishops of London, Durham, Winchester and Lincoln; Lords Zouche (Cinque Ports), Wolton, Stanhope, Carew and Digby; and above forty other influential persons, including Inigo Jones, Surveyor of His Majesty’s Works

Before this Commission it was admitted that the Bishop of London had peculiar care of the whole body of the Church, the Dean and Chapter of the choir; “but that which each of them enjoyed as

¹ Dugdale’s *History of St. Paul’s*, p. 101.

to this purpose was so little as that they yearly expended double as much upon the roof and other parts decayed, to preserve them from present ruin. The Church from its foundation had been supported partly out of the large oblations of those that visited the shrines and oratories therein, partly from public contributions." It is said that some of the Commissioners aimed "at the wreck" of the Bishop and the clergy of the Church. Lord Southampton and other zealous Churchmen interposed for their protection. Grindal had, in his day, bestowed on the repairs of the Cathedral £1,184. Aylmer had claimed of his predecessor, Sandys, £309 for dilapidations on the Church. On Bancroft's appointment the estimate for repairs was over £4,000. The Commissioners agreed that the chargeable estates were altogether inadequate; St. Paul's was national, and must be repaired by public contributions.

"Whereupon the King himself, to give example unto others, began the subscription, most of the nobility, and many more, following very cheerfully therein; the then Bishop (King) giving £100 (all these figures must be multiplied to give present value), and subscribing for so much annually, as long as he should continue in that See; which was but a short time, for the next ensuing year he died (1621).

"Unto whom succeeded Dr. George Mountaine; which Bishop, being no less zealous to promote the work, disbursed a considerable sum of money to provide stone from Portland for that purpose. But the collection of moneys went so slowly forwards as that, though a good proportion of stone was brought in by the said Bishop, the prosecution of the work became wholly neglected; so that part of the said stone lying useless, was after borrowed by the Duke of Buckingham for the building of the water-gate at York House; and there employed for that use, as I have heard." (Buckingham's water-gate of pilfered stone is still standing, near the Adelphi.)

The estimate was—				£	s.	d.
For the choir	-	-	-	1,619	4	1
„ „ tower	-	-	-	12,015	15	0
„ „ nave and aisles	-	-	-	6,891	19	4
„ „ transepts	-	-	-	1,647	4	5
„ „ chapter house	-	-	-	361	19	5
				£22,536 2 3 ¹		

To return to Bishop Ravis; he had been commemorated by a beautiful poetical epitaph by Corbet, Dean of Christ Church, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, who subsequently contributed £400 (in Laud's time) to the restoration of St. Paul's. He was succeeded by *George Abbot*, 1609, promoted to Canterbury the year after. The next Bishop was *John King*, nephew of Robert King, the first Bishop of Oxford. Like Bishop Ravis, he was educated at Westminster and Christ Church, Oxford, of which he became Dean in 1605. He was chaplain to Queen Elizabeth and King James, and to Lord Keeper Egerton. For several years together he was Vice-Chancellor of Oxford. King James, punning, called him King of Preachers. He was held in great reverence by all people, as a solid and profound divine, of great gravity and piety, and of a most excellent volubility of speech.¹ He omitted no Sunday when he did not mount the pulpit in London or near it."² Sad to say for him, but fortunately for the Church of England, he was the last of our Bishops "who (with another, the Bishop of Lichfield) put in force the statute for the burning of heretics. It was in the Consistory Court of the Bishop of London that Bartholomew Leggatt, accused of Arianism, was made over to the civil power and burned at the stake. For the last time the atmosphere of London was tainted with the reek of a holocaust on such

¹ Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum*, iii. pp. 74, 75.

² Newcourt's *Repertorium*.

³ Fuller, v. p. 499.

a charge. Leggat was offered a pardon on recantation, refused it, and died a martyr for his faith. A Spaniard, accused on the same suspicion, escaped, the popular feeling being so strong against his execution."¹

King was succeeded by *George Montaigne*,² notable for the rapidity of his promotions: Master of the Savoy, Dean of Westminster, Bishop of Lincoln (1617), Bishop of London (1621), Bishop of Durham (1627), Archbishop of York (1628); soon after this last step he died.

The Deans of this period were notable men, worthy successors of the learned Ralph de Diceto, the admirable Colet and the statesmanlike Pace. Nowell has already been mentioned. He died in 1602, and was succeeded by *John Overall*, Fellow of Trinity, Cambridge, Master of St. Katherine's in that University, Dean of St. Paul's, Fellow of Chelsea College, Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation of Canterbury, where he drew up in three books of manuscript the Acts and Canons then passed, afterwards published by Archbishop Sancroft as Bishop Overall's Convocation-book. He became successively Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and Bishop of Norwich, where he died and was buried in 1619. The celebrated Bishop Cosin of Durham, who had been his secretary, erected his monument.

His successor, *Valentine Carey*, became Bishop of Exeter, and was followed by the famous poet, *John Donne*. Of him Newcourt writes: "His life is incomparably well written by Mr. Isaac Walton, published 1670, to which I refer the reader." His poetry and preaching were greatly admired in his day. His strange monument was one of the few survivals of the Great Fire.

¹ Milman's *Annals*, p. 321; Fuller's *History*.

² The name is spelt in different ways.

CHAPTER XV

CHARLES I.

WHEN Charles I. succeeded his father in 1625, Montaigne was Bishop of London and Abbot Archbishop of Canterbury. On Montaigne's translation to Durham at the end of 1627, the famous *Laud* became Bishop of London in 1628. His character and career are so well known, and are so largely the property of the Church of England itself, that it is only needful here to sketch his rise, and to note his relation to St. Paul's. He was Fellow of St. John's 1593, Proctor of the University 1603, Chaplain to the Earl of Devonshire the same year, Vicar of Stamford 1607, received the advowson of North Kilworth 1608, D.D. was chaplain to the Bishop of Rochester the same year, exchanged North Kilworth for West Tilbury in 1609, became Rector of Cuckstone, 1610, left Cuckstone for Norton the same year, President of St. John's 1611, King's Chaplain the same year, Prebendary of Bugden 1614, Archdeacon of Huntingdon 1615, Dean of Gloucester 1616, left Norton for Ibstock 1617, Prebendary of Westminster 1620, Bishop of St. Davids 1621 (resigning the Presidency of St. John's), Vicar of Creek *in commendam* 1622, Bishop of Bath and Wells 1626, Dean of the Chapel Royal the same year, translated to London 1628, Chancellor of Oxford University 1630. This wonderful list throws a curious light on the ideals of clerical and episcopal duty in those days. He held the Bishopric of St. Davids for six years, and the Bishopric of Bath and Wells for two; but his diary shows that he only visited St. Davids twice, and contains no record of a visit to Bath and Wells. Confirmation also seems to have fallen into disuse. But the debt of

St. Paul's to the new Bishop was great, for he set about restoring the Cathedral through the plans of Inigo Jones.

As Inigo Jones's work was to be laid level with the ground by the Great Fire of 1666, less than a quarter of a century after the end of the process of restoration, it is unnecessary to describe it in detail. Among the individual contributors none was so generous as a citizen of London, a Turkey merchant, Sir Paul Pindar, who had been the English Ambassador at Constantinople in the reign of James II. "At his own charge he repaired the end of the choir, adorning the front thereof, outwards, with fair pillars of black marble and statues of those Saxon kings which had been founders or benefactors to the Church, beautified the inner part thereof with figures of angels, and all wainscote work of the choir with excellent carving," and "afterwards bestowed £4,000 in repairing the south cross (probably transept)."¹ The total sum thus contributed by this princely merchant is said to have amounted to about £10,000.

The accounts given by Dugdale and Stow of the amounts received and paid on this great work of renovation are not quite complete, but give a general idea of the scale (when multiplied to represent present money value). The Chamberlain of the City of London was treasurer of the fund. Up to October 29, when the accounts were audited, he had received £89,489. Of this they paid £9,628 for houses demolished, £1,452 to the Clerk of the Works for a similar purpose, and £68,000 for the repair of the body of the Church, the choir and west end. This left the Chamberlain £10,400 in hand. When the accounts were audited, the Clerk of the Works had in hand £6,730, which, added to the surplus in the hand of the Chamberlain, left £17,100 for further repairs.

¹ Dugdale, p. 143; Stow, i. 646.

Money flowed in copiously till the end of 1640, but in 1641, when the nation's troubles began, contributions suddenly dropped from £10,000, received in 1640, to less than £2,000; in 1642, £2,000 was received, but in 1643, £15 was the whole amount contributed. "In October, 1642," says Stow, "the flames of our civil dissensions broke violently out; so that there was not only an unhappy period put to this good and praiseworthy work, but by the votes of Parliament, made September 10, anno 1642, the very foundation of this famous Cathedral was utterly shaken in pieces." "The famous Cross in the churchyard, which had been for many ages the most solemn place in this nation for the greatest divines and most eminent scholars to preach at, was pulled down to the ground," "but its site was long denoted by a tall elm-tree."¹ "In the month of March ensuing, the houses and revenues belonging to the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral were seized on by order likewise of the said Parliament, together with all money, goods or materials, bought or given, for repairing or finishing of this Church, were seized on and disposed of."²

Laud's diary records the remonstrances and threats which his policy evoked from many quarters, both in London and the Primacy. On March 29, 1629, soon after his appointment to London, "two papers were found in the Deanery of St. Paul's, his yard, before his house, 'Laud, look to thyself. Be assured thy life is sought, as thou art the fountain of all wickedness. Repent thee thy monstrous sins before thou art taken out of the world. . . . Assure thyself that neither God nor the world can endure such a vile counsellor to live, or such a whisperer.'"

Laud's note is: "Lord, I am a grievous sinner; but I beseech Thee deliver my soul from them that hate me without

¹ Timb's *Curiosities of London*, 8vo, p. 105.

² Stow, i. 647.

a cause." On July 9, 1637, a short label was pasted on the Cross in Cheapside, that the Arch-wolf of Canterbury had his hand in persecuting the saints and shedding the blood of the martyrs. On August 20, and again on May 9, 1640, when the High Commission was sitting at St. Paul's because of the troubles of the times, very near 2,000 Brownists (Congregationalists) made a tumult at the end of the court, tore down all the benches in the consistory, and cried out, "We will have no Bishop, and no High Commission."¹

When Laud was translated to Canterbury he secured as his successor in London *William Juxon*, a moderate High Churchman, of a gentle and Christian character, and a zealous loyalist, round whose name his faithful and sympathetic attendance on Charles I. on the scaffold, has lit a special halo. Though not a man of learning, he was blameless, unworldly and unambitious; prudent and conciliatory beyond most Churchmen of his time. Laud died on Tower Hill in 1641.

Until a few years ago the Chapter of St. Paul's had in their possession a pathetic document in the handwriting of Charles I., registering a vow that he would give a large benefaction to the Cathedral, if he should be victorious over his enemies. It was thought, however, that a paper of such value should be in the Record Office, and it was offered to that department and accepted. The Chapter retained a photographic copy, which is in the glass case in the Cathedral library.

¹ Laud's *Diary* : Dates.

CHAPTER XVI

ST. PAUL'S UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH

By the Puritans "St. Paul's was considered a vast useless pile, the lair of old superstition and idolatry. . . . The Cathedral was not destroyed, for it would have been a work of cost and labour to destroy it (and probably the citizens would have defended it). . . . One of the first acts, however, of the triumphant Parliament was to seize and appropriate to other uses the sum remaining out of the subscription for the repairs of the Church in the hands of the Chamberlain of the City. This sum amounted to above £17,000. The scaffolding erected round the central tower was assigned to Colonel Jephson's regiment for £1,746, due as arrears of pay. On removing the scaffolding, part of the south transept, with its roof, came down."¹

Spoliation was in the air. Even as early as the summer of 1641, the year of Stafford's execution, there was a debate in Parliament on the abolition of Cathedral Chapters, and for the appropriation of their revenues to more utilitarian purposes. The Universities petitioned in their favour; they were defended before the Commission by Dr. Hacket, Archdeacon of Bedford and Prebendary of St. Paul's. The Bill passed the Commons, but the Bishops had not yet been expelled from the House of Lords, and it dropped. In 1642 appeared the Ordinance for the removal of crucifixes and other "monuments of superstition" from churches. St. Paul's is named with other cathedrals. Ordered May 31, "That the Committee for pulling down

¹ Milman's *Annals*, p. 347.

and abolishing all monuments of superstition and idolatry do take into their custody the copes in the Cathedrals of Westminster, Paul's, and Lambeth; and give order that they be burnt (the gold separated from the gilt by fire), and converted to the relief of the poor in Ireland." December 15, ordered, "That the Committee for taking away superstitious ornaments do open Paul's Church, and that they shall have power to remove out of the said Church all such matters as are justly offensive to godly men."¹

In January 1644-5, came an order "that my Lord Powys's house in Aldersgate Street, and the Deanery of St. Paul's should be prepared for the reception of certain prisoners from Chichester or elsewhere." In April came more violent signs of spoliation. It was ordered that the chest of silver vessels in St. Paul's shall be sold for the best advantage, towards the providing of necessaries for the train of Artillery, by the Committee at Grocers' Hall. The Deanery had probably been vacated by Dr. Winnif, who had received the empty nomination to the Bishopric of Lincoln; Dr. Steward, appointed to the Deanery, had not yet appeared. In May of the same year came the fatal mandate to the Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen to seize and sequester all the revenues of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, with the sole reservation of £400, to be paid quarterly to Dr. Cornelius Burgess, as Lecturer in the Cathedral. The Dean, Steward, mentioned in a later Act as in possession of the Deanery, had not yet been installed. The Cathedral clergy, unless they would sign the Covenant, were scattered about to their respective places of retirement. A second Act followed on April 23, constituting Cornelius Burgess Lecturer of St. Paul's, and putting him in possession of the Deanery. A part

¹ Milman's *Annals*, p. 347.

of the eastern end of the Church was walled in for his services and congregations.

Two pictures are given us of this Puritan tenant of St. Paul's, one by the Puritan Neal, the other by the Loyalist Wood. In Neal, he is among the most moderate of the Parliamentary divines; as Vicar of Watford, he declined to sign the Covenant until threatened with ejection. As the antagonist of Hacket in the debate about the abolition of Chapters, he complained of their unprofitableness, of the "debauchery of singing men, and of their vicious conversation," and spoke against music in churches as useless and hurtful; but he summed up with declaring that he held it necessary to apply these foundations to better purposes; it was by no means lawful to alienate them from pious uses, or to convert them to any private personal profit. According to Wood, he began some years before by preaching a Latin sermon at St. Alphege, London Wall, before the London clergy, in which he spoke strongly of the connivance of the Bishops at the growth of Arminianism and Popery. He was summoned before the High Commission Court, and from that time became implacable against the Bishops. With his friend Captain Venn, he exercised great authority over the populace of London. It was usual for Burgess and Venn to lead the tumult of the City apprentices and the rest to the Parliament doors to see that the "godly party" in the House (so their faction was called) were not outvoted; and then, turning back to the rabble, Burgess would say, "These are my bandogs, and I can set them on, and I can take them off." This was done with special violence at Stafford's trial. Hence his popularity in London, and his nomination at St. Paul's. The lecture in the evening at the Cathedral was appointed at the desire of some of the Aldermen of London, who were unwilling that St. Paul's should be altogether silenced. The Aldermen were probably responding, according to

Wood, to a demand from the Militiamen of London among whom the Doctor was wont to ride with a case of pistols, being called Colonel, and sharing the gains. These were queer times. It was to the credit of Burgess that he headed the daring petition of the London clergy against the execution of the King. The petition ended with the memorable prayer, "That God would restrain the violence of men, that they may not dare to draw upon themselves and the kingdom the blood of their Sovereign."¹

This Parliamentary minister of St. Paul's, Burgess, was a man of some power. "His sermons rank high, for vigour and something at times bordering on the eloquence of his age, among the preachers of the day. He is somewhat proud of his small Hebrew, which he inflicts at length on the patient House of Commons. There is one sermon before the House on November 5, 1641, rising to terrific invective against the conspirators in the Gunpowder Plot, and on those in high places in the Roman Catholic world, who vindicated, excused, admired, made martyrs of those wretched assassins. 'What measures will the wisdom of Parliament adopt against perilous Popery? But if anything may be added,—for the taking away of their children, and training them up (at the parents' cost if they have wherewithal) in the nurture and fear of the Lord, that so there may not still be new generations of Papists; I presume it would be a noble and pious service, for which the souls of many thousands would for ever bless you, by whose mercy they should be delivered out of the power of that Ægyptian darkness, and translated into the Kingdom of Jesus Christ.'² Fanaticism speaks the same language in Papal Rome and in Inquisitorial Madrid, and in Puritan

¹ Neal, iii. 536; Milman's *Annals*, p. 349.

² Wood, *Cornelius Burgess*.

London. Everywhere it tramples remorselessly on the holiest rights and duties of human nature, and outrages the deepest and most sacred feelings of the heart of man."¹

"Burgess came to a wretched end. He had written a pamphlet to prove that it was no sin to purchase Bishops' lands. In the conviction of its sinlessness he left St. Paul's (he did not purchase any of our estates), and obtained the benefice of St. Andrew's, in Wells, Somerset. He invested all his gains in the lands of that See, for which investment he was said to have been offered £12,000. At the Restoration he was forced to disgorge; lived in miserable poverty, and lingered on, writing dismal letters imploring charity to keep him alive. He died and was buried at his old benefice in Watford."²

"The Act for the sale of Bishops' lands, November 16, 1646, disturbed Juxon in his peaceful retreat at Fulham, where he had lived unmolested, to the credit of his own virtue and prudence, and, as Warburton observes, showing the moderation of the Parliamentary leaders up to that time.³ A committee was appointed to assess the allowances to be made to the deprived Bishops. Mr. Hallam cites an Order (May 1, 1647) that, whereas divers of the tenants of the late Bishop of London at or before the 1st November last, have refused to pay the rents or other sums due to him as Bishop of London at or before the 1st November last, the trustees of Bishops' lands are directed to receive the same and pay them over to Dr. Juxon. 'Though this was only justice, it shows that justice was done, at least in this instance, to a Bishop.'⁴ Fulham passed into the possession of Richard Harvey, a decayed silk-mercier, whether as a reward of his services (and he had rendered great services

¹ *Parl. Sermons*, p. 35; *Milman's Annals*, p. 350.

² *Milman's Annals*, p. 351. ³ Notes to Clarendon.

⁴ *Constit. Hist.* i. 597, note.

in putting down an insurrection in London at the time of Walker's plot), or by purchase from spoils obtained in the war.¹

"The Cathedral was left to chance, exposed at least to neglect, too often to wanton or inevitable mischief. There is a strange story that Cromwell had determined to sell the useless building to the Jews. . . . This may have originated in one of those grim pleasantries in which Oliver took delight. . . . As it was, the only part secure was the east end, set apart for the congregation of Burghess. From Inigo Jones's noble portico the statues of the two kings (James I. and Charles I.) were tumbled ignominiously down, and dashed to pieces. The portico was let out for mean shops, to sempstresses and hucksters, with chambers above and staircases leading to them. The body of the Church, Dugdale, who saw it, declares, with sorrow and bitterness of heart, became a cavalry barrack and stable. The pavement was trampled by horses, the tombs left to the idle amusement of the rude soldiers, who, even if religious, were not much disposed to reverence the remains of a Popish edifice. Sir H. Ellis has quoted a curious notice from a printed paper in the British Museum, dated May 27, 1651: 'Forasmuch as the inhabitants of St. Paul's Churchyard are much disturbed by the soldiers and others, calling out to passengers and examining them, though they go peaceably and civilly along, and by playing at nine-pins at unseasonable hours: they are therefore to command all soldiers and others, that hereafter there shall be no examining and calling out to persons that go peaceably on their way, unless they do approach the guards; and likewise to forbear playing at nine-pins and other sports from the hours of nine o'clock in the evening till six in the morning, that so per-

¹ Clarendon, p. 418; Walker's *Hist. of Independence*, vol. i. p. 176.

sons as are weak and indisposed to rest may not be disturbed.'"¹ Barrack-rooms are very much the same at all times: smoking, drinking, joking, the cleaning of accoutrements, the combined smell of steaming joints and vegetables, and of pipe-clay; strict discipline and a certain amount of order. The Parliamentary soldiers were sternly religious, according to their standards; but the sacredness of a cathedral did not enter into the circle of their religious ideas, any more than modern Christians would respect the old-world sanctity of a ruined pagan temple. St. Paul's was to them a thing of the past, an anachronism from which all interest, life and importance had for ever departed.

The famous old preaching cross was destroyed on account of its name. It had quite lost its original appearance and shape, and had in the course of time become a kind of octagonal garden-house or booth, with open sides, and steps leading up to it, and a bulging roof, all of decadent architecture.

¹ Ellis's *Dugdale*, p. 115.

CHAPTER XVII

THE RESTORATION OF MONARCHY

At the Restoration, Bishop Juxon was restored to his See, becoming later on Archbishop of Canterbury, in recognition of his faithful loyalty to Charles I. His successor in London was *Gilbert Sheldon*, who, in conjunction with Hammond, had done much to support the suffering clergy during the Protectorate; and as Juxon was more than seventy, and very infirm, the initiative and authority which belong to Canterbury fell in large measure to Sheldon. "To Sheldon we owe the St. Bartholomew Act, the Act of Uniformity, with those rigid clauses which we have but now shaken off, and all those stern measures which made Puritanism a permanent and perpetual schism. Then some of those who might have been the most powerful, as they were amongst the most pious, of the servants of the Church of England became her irreconcilable antagonists."¹ After three years of the See of London, Sheldon became Archbishop of Canterbury, August 31, 1663. He was the builder of the beautiful Sheldonian Theatre (the public hall of the University) at Oxford.

The next Bishop of London was a quiet man, of whom very little is heard: *Humphrey Henckman*, Bishop of Salisbury. When holding a benefice in the neighbourhood of Salisbury, the Boscobel Tracts state that he was engaged in the escape of Charles II. after the Battle of Worcester. His name rarely occurs either in the affairs of the State, or of the Church, or of the diocese, or in the annals of St. Paul's, except as a liberal contributor to Wren's new Cathedral. He filled the See for

¹ Milman's *Annals*, p. 355.

twelve years, and died in 1675, nine years after the Great Fire.

Of the Deans of St. Paul's during this period, the first, *William Nicholas*, brother of King Charles's faithful Secretary of State, lived only a month; installed July 10, he died August 14, 1662.

The life and adventures of the next Dean, *John Barwick*, told by himself in his autobiography, read like a vivid romance.¹ He was an ardent, agile, and indefatigable political agent for the Royalists in their darkest days.²

Barwick reclaimed the estates of the Cathedral, revived the services, and set about restoring the fabric, which was within three years to be swept away by the Great Fire. A Commission was appointed by Charles II. in 1663. Under his instructions Barwick prepared a book for the receipt of subscriptions, "like unto those which were kept in the time of our dear grandfather and father." This book is still preserved in the Cathedral library, and is called "A Booke of Subscriptions towards the Repaire of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's in London." Many of the signatures are of great interest. Charles II. gives £1,000 a year, to be paid quarterly; James, Duke of York, £200 a year.³

Wren was appointed one of the Commissioners.⁴ His report on the defects of the old building, and his ideas as to how the damage should be repaired, were laid before the Commissioners about May 1, 1666. At that time Evelyn, in the dedication of his *Account of Architecture* to Wren, says, "You will not, I am sure, forget the struggle we had with some for patching it up anyhow (so the steeple might

¹ *Vita Johannis Barwick.*

² Compare the character of Dr. Rochecliffe in Scott's *Woodstock*.

³ Compare Longman's *Three Cathedrals of St. Paul's*, p. 77.

⁴ *Elmes' Life*, p. 219.

stand), instead of new building which is altogether needed."¹

"Some may aim at too great magnificence," says Wren, in his report on the old structure, "which the disposition of the age will not bear. Others may fall so low as to think of piecing up the old fabric, here with stone, there with brick, and cover all faults with a coat of plaister, leaving it still to posterity as a further object of charity. The Cathedral is a pile for ornament and for use. It demands a choir, consistory, chapter house, library, preaching auditory (which might be furnished at less expense, but which would want grandeur). It was a monument of power and mighty zeal in our ancestors in public works in those times, when the City had neither a fifth part of the wealth it now boasts of."

He then criticizes at length the Norman and Gothic work, and proceeds: "The middle part is most defective both in beauty and firmness, both within and without, for the tower leans manifestly by the settling of one of the ancient pillars that supported it. Four new arches were therefore of later years incorporated within the old ones, which both straightened and hindered the room, and the clear thorough view of the nave, in that part where it had been more graceful to have been rather wider than the rest, . . . without, the three buttresses (the fourth is wanting) are so irregular that the tower, from the top to the bottom, with the next adjacent parts, is a heap of deformities, that no judicious architect will think it corrigible.

"I cannot propose a better remedy than by cutting off the inner corners of the cross, to reduce this middle part into a spacious dome or rotundo, with a cupola or hemispherical roof, and upon the cupola a lantern with a spiring top to rise proportionably."

¹ Evelyn's *Miscellaneous Works*, p. 351.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE GREAT FIRE OF 1666

THE schemes of Evelyn and his friends for the repair of St. Paul's were brought to a sudden close. The plans and estimates were ordered on Monday, August 27, 1666; on Sunday, September 2, the Great Fire broke out. At three o'clock in the morning, Pepys, who lived in Seething Lane, near the Tower, was awoken by the alarm. The mischief had begun at the King's bakehouse in Pudding Lane, near Fish Street, Eastcheap, Lower Thames Street and London Bridge. Pepys walked to the Tower, and from a high point saw houses burning at both ends of the bridge, and an infinite great fire at the north side. He got a boat, passed under the bridge, with the blazing houses above it, and hastened to Whitehall to be the first to carry the news to the King and the Duke of York. From Whitehall he drove in Captain Cook's coach, without difficulty, to St. Paul's, which seemed as yet perfectly secure. In Watling Street the people were already removing their goods. In Watling Street he met the Lord Mayor, who was quite exhausted, and seemed to have lost his head. He had ordered houses to be pulled down, nobody obeyed, so he went "quietly home and to bed." In the afternoon Pepys went down again to Paul's, walking through the City, "the streets full of nothing but people and horses and carts laden with goods, ready to run over one another, and removing goods from one burning house to another. Cannon Street, which received goods in the morning, was now removing its goods to Lombard Street." Pepys had a boat waiting for him at Paul's Wharf; on the river he encountered the King's barge, and followed the royal party. "In the evening, when we could

endure no more upon the water, we landed at Bank-side (Southwark) at a small public-house, and there stood and saw the fire grow, and as it grew darker appeared more and more, and in corners, and upon steeples, and between churches and houses, as far as we could see up the City, in a most horrid bloody malicious flame, not like the flame of an ordinary fire. We stood still, it being darkish; we saw the fire as only one entire arch of fire from this to the other side of the Bridge, and on a bow up the hill for an area of above a mile long." Evelyn's *Diary* and Dr. Taswell's (*Camden's Miscellany*, ii. 12), complete the terrible picture.

At the time of the fire, the Dean was *William Sancroft*. At the outbreak of the Civil Wars Sancroft was at Cambridge. His college was Puritan, Emmanuel, and after some delay he was ejected from his fellowship, and lived in retirement. After the execution of Charles he went to the Continent, where he not only supported himself, but assisted others with great liberality; among these was Cosin, afterwards Bishop of Durham. At the Restoration, Sancroft returned to England, and Cosin was in a position to show his gratitude. He conferred on his benefactor a rich prebend, and the benefice of Houghton-le-Spring, then held to be one of the best and pleasantest in England. Sancroft became Master of Emmanuel, Dean of York in 1662, and two years later Dean of St. Paul's.¹

Very soon after the fire, Dr. Wren, who had previously distinguished himself as a member of the Royal Society, was appointed deputy surveyor general and principal architect for rebuilding the whole City; having been previously appointed architect and one of the Commissioners for the reparation of St. Paul's.² He immediately set to work to fit up a portion of the dilapidated

¹ Milman's *Annals*, p. 385. ² Elmes' *Life*, p. 219.

Cathedral for temporary use in divine service.¹ Having been consulted relatively to the state of the Cathedral before the fire, "he was prepared with plans, elevations and sections of every part, which he had but just finished to a large scale on vellum when that event occurred."² In the meantime it was indispensable to keep the building in some state of repair. Accordingly, on January 15, 1667, the King issued an order: "It being thought necessary in the meantime (till it shall please God to bless us with a more favourable juncture for doing something more lasting and magnificent) that some part of the venerable pile be forthwith restored to its religious use—it was this day ordered that a choir and auditory for present use be forthwith set out."³ On the same day it was ordered, "for the suppressing of present and future annoyances and encroachments, the church-yard be forthwith walled in, or otherwise enclosed at such distance from the Church on all sides, that the public way without the said enclosure be left at least as broad in all places as the late Act of Parliament for the rebuilding of the City requires." On March 5, a sub-committee was appointed for the repairs.

The whole management of this work was left to the care and direction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Manchester, the Lord Chamberlain, the Bishops of London, Rochester, Winchester and Ely, Sir Richard Chaworth (Vicar-general of the Province of Canterbury) and the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's. The temporary choir was hastily fitted up at the west end, which was thought the safest part of the ruins, the east being utterly desolate. About £3,500 were spent on these temporary repairs.

On October 10, 1667, Sancroft preached on the

¹ Dugdale (1716), p. 153. ² Elmes' *Life*, p. 220.

³ Dugdale's *St. Paul's* (Ellis), p. 127.

fire before the King in this part of the ruined Cathedral. "Therefore dream no longer (he said) of grenades or fireballs, or the rest of those witty¹ mischiefs. Search no more for *bout-feus*, or incendiaries, Dutch or French. The Dutch intemperance, and the French pride and vanity, and the rest of their sins, which we are so fond of, are infinitely more dangerous to us than the enmity of either nation, for we have made God our enemy too; or if you will needs find out the incendiary, '*Intus hostis, intus periculum*' (within is the enemy, within is the danger), saith St. Jerome. Turn your eyes inward into your own bosoms. There lurks the great *make-bate*, the grand *bout-feu*, between earth and us. . . . Thanks be to the Lord who has so long showed us marvellously great kindness. I say not with the Psalm, 'In the strong city' (though the strongest without Him is weakness), but in a very weak one, a city in the meanness of its materials, the oldness of the buildings, the straitness of some streets, the ill-situation of others, and many like inconveniences, so exposed to this dismal accident, that it must have been long since in ashes, had not His miraculous mercy preserved it: Who so long as He pleaseth, and that is just so long as we please Him, continues the *fire* to us, useful and safe, serviceable and yet innocent, with as much ease as He lays it asleep and quiet in the bosom of a flint. . . . His compassions fail not, that God hath left us yet a holy place to assemble in, solemnly to acknowledge, as we do this day, that most miraculous mercy, that before all our wit was puzzled, and all our industry tired out, when the wind was at the highest, and the fire at the hottest, when all our hope was now giving up the ghost, then He . . . restrained also on the sudden the fury of that merciless and unruly element."²

¹ Imaginary.² Sancroft's *Life* (D'Oyley), p. 377

CHAPTER XIX

BEGINNING OF THE NEW CATHEDRAL: WREN'S PLANS¹

In spite of providing temporary accommodation, Wren saw that a new Cathedral was necessary. He consequently strenuously opposed all patching-up of the Cathedral, while Sancroft and the committee appear to have attempted to do this, notwithstanding his protests. About a year after the appointment of the sub-committee, Sancroft wrote to Wren at Oxford (April 25, 1668): "What you last whispered in my ear at your last coming hither, is now come to pass. Our work at the west end of St. Paul's is fallen about our ears. Your quick eye discerned the walls and pillars gone off from their perpendicular, and, I believe, other defects too, which are now exposed to every common observer. The third pillar from the west, at the south side, which they had new cased with stone, fell with a sudden crash; the next, bigger than the rest, stood alone, certain to fall, yet so unsafe that they dared not venture to take it down. In short, the whole work of Inigo Jones was so overloaded as to threaten a total wreck. . . . What we are to do next is the present deliberation, in which you are so absolutely and indispensably necessary to us that we can do nothing, resolve nothing, without you."² Sancroft begged Wren to come to London with all possible speed, and to bring with him the drawings and designs he had already made. The patching, however, still went on, notwithstanding

¹ Compare throughout Longman's *Three Cathedrals of St. Paul's*.

² Elmes' *Wren*, p. 245.

a remonstrance from him; but on July 2 the Dean wrote to Wren again, to tell him that, "yesterday my Lords of Canterbury, London and Oxford met on purpose to hear your letter read once more, and to consider what is now to be done in order to the repair of St. Paul's. They unanimously resolved that it is fit immediately to attempt something, and that without you they can do nothing. I am therefore commanded to give you an invitation hither in His Grace's name and the rest of the Commissioners, with all speed; that we may prepare something to be proposed to His Majesty (the desire of such a choir, at least, as may be a congruous part of a greater and more magnificent work to follow). . . . And then, for the procuring of contributions to defray this, we are so sanguine as not to doubt of it if we could but once resolve what we would do, and what that would cost. So that the only part of your letter that we demur to is the method you propose of declaring, first, what money we would bestow, and then designing something just of that expense; for, quite otherwise, the way their Lordships resolve upon is to frame a design handsome and noble, and suitable to all the ends of it, and to the reputation of the City and the nation, and to take it for granted that money will be had to accomplish it."

On the 25th of the same month, July, the King issued a warrant for taking down the walls and clearing the ground to the foundation of the east end, the old choir, and the tower, so as to make room for a new choir as part of a possible new Cathedral.¹ The tentative works continued for nearly two years, when at last the necessity for an entirely new church was demonstrated. "Towards the latter end of which two years," says Wren's grandson, "they fell to casing some of those great and massy pillars which stood between the middle

¹ Elmes, p. 253.

aisle and the side aisles; beginning with those below the little north door towards the west; but before the third pillar was perfectly cased they were found to be incapable of any substantial repair. It was therefore fully concluded that in order to a new fabric, the foundations of the old Cathedral, thus made ruinous, should be totally cleared; and preparation of materials and all things needful made ready, conducing to a new fabric, which work continued until the last of April, 1674, at a total cost of £10,909."¹

Besides the one made before the fire, Wren made several plans for a classic dome in the middle of the old Gothic Cathedral; the earlier were sketches "merely for discourse sake, to find out what might satisfy the world." Then came Wren's own favourite design, one of incomparable beauty, in the form of a Greek cross, with a vast vestibule and portico surmounted by a lesser dome, the points of the Greek cross being connected by superb concave façades. The King ordered a model to be made of it, which still exists; it is on a huge scale, was lent for some years to the South Kensington Museum, and is now again in a corridor near the west gallery of St. Paul's. But the Chapter and some others of the clergy thought the model not enough of a cathedral fashion, to instance particularly, in that the choir was designed circular, and that there were no regular aisles or nave.²

Wren, therefore, prepared another drawing, sometimes called "the Nightmare design." Out of a vast reversed pudding-dish arises a neat but small cupola, resting on a sufficiently handsome drum with pillars and windows; but from the top of the cupola soars up a lofty spire like that of St. Bride's, Fleet Street; while the western front resembles very closely that left by Inigo Jones, and destroyed by the fire. The King endorsed this plan

¹ *Parentalia*, p. 278.

² Elmes, p. 319.

as "very artificial (artistic), proper and useful"; but he most fortunately gave him "liberty, in the prosecution of his work, to make some variations, rather ornamental than essential, as from time to time he should see proper, and to leave the whole to his management."¹

On November 12, 1673, letters-patent, under the Great Seal of England, were issued, announcing the determination to erect a new Cathedral.

The warrant was addressed to the Lord Mayor of the City of London for the time being, Archbishop Sheldon of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor Shaftesbury, Archbishop Sterne of York, all the great Officers of State,² the Bishop of London and other Bishops, the Judges, and the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's. These, with others, were Commissioners for the rebuilding, new erecting and *adorning* the said Cathedral Church of St. Paul in London. Six Commissioners were to be a quorum, of which the Bishop of London, or the Dean of St. Paul's for the time being was to be one. Amongst other ample provisions was one to frame orders "for the better preservation and maintenance of the said Cathedral Church in time to come, and for the preventing and suppressing of all present and future annoyances, purprestures and encroachments which do, shall or may in any way tend to the damage or hurt, blemishing or disgrace of the same."

The Commission indicated the means for providing the vast expenditure needed; it was to be a national, not a diocesan, undertaking. Charles II. continued the promise of £1,000 which he had made in 1664, but there is no trace of any payment; all that he gave was £527 out of fines and forfeitures, commonly called Green Wax Money, and £1,627 out

¹ *Parentalia*, p. 283. Compare Longman's *Three Cathedrals*, p. 114.

² James, Duke of York, was President of the Commission.

of impropriations due to him and not pardoned. The total amount of the Primate's subscription was £2,000. Bishop Henchman subscribed largely, and left a considerable bequest; Bishop Morley of Winchester and Bishop Crewe of Durham were liberal; those three represented the wealthiest Sees. In 1678, an Order in Council was issued that Bishops, instead of giving expensive entertainments at their consecrations, should send £50 for the new Cathedral; until this was paid, the Archbishop was not to consecrate. It was followed by another order that another sum of £50 was to be paid by each new Bishop instead of the gloves that used to be given to all who attended his consecration. The ecclesiastical judges were to assign a proportion of commutations of penance. A special form of brief, enjoining subscriptions, was sent round to cathedrals and churches. All classes contributed; various private persons gave handsome sums and left liberal legacies. Collections were made over the whole country in parish churches, and were continued for ten years. Christopher Wren himself gave £60. So great was the fervour that the coal-dues in the Port of London were granted to the City of London for rebuilding the City churches, for St. Paul's and for general purposes. The successive Acts for this purpose are given in Dugdale. In the second Act one-half of three shillings per chaldron went to the City; of the other half, 13½*d.* went to the City churches, and 4½*d.* to St. Paul's.

Before beginning to build, Wren had to explore the ground for his new foundations; for various reasons he was determined to avoid the old, an aim which he dexterously accomplished by directing the axis of the new Cathedral slightly more to the north than that of the former.

Dean Milman, in his full work on St. Paul's, has worked out the question of the underlying strata, and the questions which they suggest, with great

completeness. "It is clear that a layer of loose sand underlies the firm pot-earth or loam which thins out towards the south. This cannot be too widely known, and the possible consequences of its oozing out cannot be too jealously watched. It fully justifies the apprehension of our late accomplished and scientific surveyor, Mr. R. Cockerell, who, when a deep sewer was commenced on the south side of the Cathedral, came to the Dean in much alarm. On the representation of the Dean and Mr. Cockerell, the work was stopped by the authorities of the City."¹ Twice in more recent times has the same danger threatened and been averted; in the first case by the proposal of a new tube railway between Carter Lane and the District Railway, which was abandoned; in the second, by the proposal of the London County Council to drive a huge sewer below the churchyard, within forty feet of the south-west tower. The alteration of the scheme by the next London County Council deserves the gratitude of all lovers of architecture all the world over.

Wren, having been appointed surveyor for the rebuilding of the whole City, drew up an admirable plan for its reconstruction after the fire. He took two great centres, St. Paul's and the Royal Exchange, and proposed to surround each of them with great circular piazzas, from which should extend with geometrical precision straight broad streets like the spokes of a wheel, to be prolonged as far as might be possible. This he was not able to effect. The Commissioners for rebuilding the City had in the first place marked and staked out the streets, and Parliament had confirmed their report, before anything had been fully determined about the design for the new fabric (though Evelyn, writing on September 27, 1666, says that Wren had already presented his scheme for the City to the

¹ Milman's *Annals*, p. 408.

King). The proprietors of the ground with much eagerness and haste had begun to build accordingly; an incredible progress had been made in a very short time; many large and fair houses erected; and every foot of ground in that trading and populous part of the town was highly estimated.¹ "Thus was lost, it is to be feared for ever, the opportunity of placing the Cathedral of London on an esplanade worthy of its consummate design; an esplanade which, we may almost say, Nature, by leaving a spacious level on the summit of the hill, had designated for a commanding and noble edifice."² Think what it would have been if the unequalled splendours of St. Paul's had been approached by a broad straight avenue from Fleet Street; if a new Cheapside had led straight up to the East End; and if similar avenues had led up to it from the river on the south, and from Aldersgate on the north!

In 1685, on the death of Charles II., a new Commission was ordered by James II. for continuing the work at St. Paul's; this was the year before the disappearance of the last remains of the ancient Gothic Cathedral, for the order gives authority "to demolish and take down what is yet remaining of the old fabric, and to carry on the new work."³

It is recorded that the recesses or chapels along the aisles of nave, choir and transepts were insisted upon by James II., whether as Duke of York or King. He looked forward with certainty to the time when the old Roman Catholic worship would take possession of the new Cathedral; and then the line of chapels, wanting only their altar, would be ready for the daily masses.⁴

It is well known that Wren was a Freemason, and that he was one of the earlier pioneers which converted the craft of practical and working Free-

¹ *Parentalia*.

² Milman's *Annals*, p. 410.

³ Ellis's *Dugdale*, p. 170

⁴ Milman's *Annals*, p. 403.

masonry, in his day no longer needed, into its modern form of a speculative and ideal fellowship. St. Paul's was probably the last great building erected by Freemasons; it is believed that many of his workmen belonged to the craft, and held their lodges in the neighbourhood.

In 1688 or 1689, a fire broke out at the west end of the north aisle of the choir, in a room prepared for the organ-builder to work in, when the choir was nearly finished. But the communication between the workroom and the organ-gallery being broken down, the fire was got under, doing no other damage but to two pillars and an arch with enrichments. The repair cost more than £700.¹

The choir was opened for divine service on December 2, 1697, on the Thanksgiving Day for the Peace of Ryswick; but of that a special account must be given. The Morning Chapel, now St. Dunstan's, at the north-west end of the nave, was opened on February 1, 1698 or 1699. At length, in 1708, St. Paul's had proceeded so far towards completion that the best mode of covering the cupola was taken into consideration, and it was finally decided by the committee to cover it with copper at the cost of £3,050. This decision was overruled, and it was covered with lead at the cost of £2,500.²

In 1710, when Wren was in his seventy-eighth year, his son laid the highest stone of the lantern on the cupola, in the presence of his father, and "that excellent artificer Mr. Strong, his son, and other Free and Accepted Masons, chiefly employed in the execution of the work."³

All these years the quarries of Portland supplied their excellent stone in abundance, and the long procession of ships laden with the future Cathedral sailed along the south coast to the mouth of the Thames. "Wren might seem as if he ruled over

¹ Ellis's *Dugdale*, p. 172. ² Elmes, p. 491.

³ *Parentalia*, p. 393.

the vassal island ;¹ roads were made to convey the stone with the greatest facility to the port. An admirable and obedient regiment of masons and workmen was organised."² Thomas Strong, of Taynton, in Oxfordshire, was Master of the Masons at the beginning ; on his death, his brother Edward, who had from the first been associated with him, took up his office, and continued it to the completion. This is recorded on Edward's monument in St. Peter's Church, St. Albans, and in Conder's *Hole Craft and Fellowship of Masonry*, p. 241. It is often carelessly repeated that it was Thomas who lived and worked all through the years of the building of St. Paul's. Thomas was owner of the famous quarries of Taynton, in Oxfordshire, which, renowned as early as 1474, and used for the erection of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, provided a great quantity of stone for the rebuilding of the City of London : at Taynton it is believed, also, for St. Paul's itself.

¹ Elmes, p. 269 : "Royal Proclamation."

² Milman's *Annals*, p. 410.

CHAPTER XX

THE NEW CATHEDRAL

THE dimensions of the new building are as follows:—

Exterior length	-	-	-	-	515 feet
Interior „	-	-	-	-	479 „
Width of transepts from door to door					250 „
„ across nave and aisles	-	-			102 „
„ between the piers	-	-	-		41 „
Length of west front	-	-	-	-	180 „
Diameter of area at crossing of nave and transept	-	-			107 „
„ of drum beneath the dome					112 „
„ of dome	-	-	-	-	102 „
Height of central aisle	-	-	-	-	89 „
Total height from pavement to top of cross	-	-	-	-	365 „
„ „ of western towers	-	-			221 „

The comparative size of the building may be gathered from the following table of dimensions of areas:—

St. Peter's, Rome	-	-	-	227,000 sq. feet.
Milan	-	-	-	108,277 „
Seville	-	-	(about)	100,000 „
Florence	-	-	-	84,802 „
St. Paul's	-	-	-	84,311 „
Cologne	-	-	-	81,464 „
York	-	-	-	72,860 „
Amiens	-	-	-	71,208 „
Antwerp	-	-	(about)	70,000 „
St. Isaac's	-	-	-	68,845 „
Chartres	-	-	-	68,261 „
Rheims	-	-	-	67,475 „
Lincoln	-	-	-	66,900 „
Winchester	-	-	-	64,200 „
Nôtre Dame, Paris	-	-		64,108 „
Westminster Abbey	-	-		61,729 „
Canterbury	-	-	-	56,280 „

Old St. Paul's was a little less in area than its successor; but its length exceeded that of every church except St. Peter's, which measures 680 feet. The present St. Paul's is exceeded in length by Winchester, Ely, York, and Canterbury. The length of Old St. Paul's was about 100 feet less than that of St. Peter's, and about the same amount greater than that of the present Cathedral. St. Peter's is a little less than three times the size of St. Paul's. The cross of St. Paul's would rise a little above the middle of the dome of St. Peter's.

Wren intended the dome to be the central feature of the Church, as well in the interior as in the outside elevation. The choir, nave and transepts all consist of sections of exactly the same design, proportion and ornamentation; the arcade of three arches in the choir is precisely the same as the arcade of three arches in the nave, and that of one arch in the two transepts. The arcade of the choir is completed by the apse; that of the nave by a magnificent and stately vestibule, flanked by the north-west and south-west chapels;¹ the arcade of each transept ends in a flat ornamental wall, with a superb semi-circular porch outside. Each arm of the Church is attached to the dome by walls with vast panels supporting a barrel arch of identical pattern: a similar barrel arch joins the choir to the apse. The whole interior is extraordinarily harmonious.

Wren intended no organ-screen, shutting off the choir. The account of the erection of such a screen against his wishes is given in Dr. Rimbault's *History of the Organ*. "In consequence of the reputation which Father Smith had acquired, he was made choice of to build an organ for St. Paul's Cathedral, then in course of erection. A place was accordingly fitted up for him in the Cathedral to

¹ Now the Chapel of St. Dunstan, and the Chapel of the Order of St. Michael and St. George.

do the work in, but it was a long time before he could proceed with it, owing to a contention between Sir Christopher Wren and the Dean and Chapter. Sir Christopher Wren wished the organ to be placed on one side of the choir as it was in the old Cathedral, that the whole extent and beauty of the building might be had at one view. The Dean, on the contrary, wished to have it at the west end of the choir; and Sir Christopher, after using every effort and argument to gain his point, was at last obliged to yield. Smith, according to his instructions, began the organ, and when the pipes were finished found that the case was not spacious enough to contain them all; and Sir Christopher, tender of his architectural proportions, would not let the case be enlarged to receive them, declaring the beauty of the building to be spoilt by the box of whistles." The screen stood about the middle of the western arch of the choir. The stalls of the Dean and the Archdeacon of Essex on the south side, and of the Archdeacon of London and the Precentor on the north, faced eastwards. There were at that time five Archdeaconries in the diocese: London, Essex, Middlesex, Colchester and St. Albans.

Among the most valued assistants to the new Cathedral was the illustrious sculptor in wood, Grinling Gibbons. Evelyn writes on December 18, 1670: "This day I first acquainted His Majesty with that incomparable young man Gibbon,¹ whom I had lately met with in an obscure place by mere accident as I was walking near a poor solitary thatched house near Sayes Court."

"The fame of Grinling Gibbons," says Wren's latest biographer, Lena Milman, "whose delicate carvings decorate not St. Paul's alone, but many of the great houses of England, has tended to rob

¹ Evelyn always spells the name Gibbon; but the final *s* is now universal.

Wren of the credit due to him for designing what are certainly the finest late Renaissance choir stalls not only in England, but in Europe. There is a drawing extant by Wren's own hand, which proves the general arrangement to be as exclusively his as the details are Grinling Gibbons's. The amazing delicacy of Grinling Gibbons's lime-wood carving has left the masterly spacing and designing of the oaken stalls which they adorn generally disregarded, and indeed the architect, by suggesting such prodigal decoration, willingly subordinated his own share in the scheme. In the panels and columns, however, of the back elevation, those that abut upon the ambulatory, Wren is supreme, blending panels and mouldings in masterly fashion with grilles of Tijou's ironwork."¹

Tijou was a French artist in metal of whom Wren had heard, and to engage whom he went over to Paris himself. The ironwork gates and grilles in the choir, the railing of the geometrical staircase of the west gallery, and of the four galleries in the dome, are the monuments of his exquisite genius. The low railing which now fences the choir is also his work, and was originally made for the sacarium. Tijou used only charcoal-smelted iron, which came from the Sussex forges: when more ironwork was wanted in the adaptation of his creations to the recent changes in the choir, it was found that coal-smelted metal split, and was useless for the finer work; Tijou's method was discovered in the records, and charcoal-smelted iron was procured from Norway.

At the east end of the apse, Wren proposed to place a Baldacchino, the design for which is in the collection of his drawings at All Souls' College, Oxford. It was to consist of rich marble columns, "writhéd, etc., in some manner like that of St. Peter's at Rome." The *Parentalia* tells us that

¹ *Sir Christopher Wren*, p. 214.

“the painting and gilding of the architecture at the east end of the Church, over the communion table, was intended only to serve the present occasion, till such time as materials could have been procured for a magnificent design of an altar, consisting of four pillars wreathed (writhed?) of the richest Greek marbles, supporting a canopy hemispherical, with proper decorations of architecture and sculpture, for which the respective drawings and a model were prepared. Information and particular descriptions of certain blocks of marble were once sent to the Right Rev. Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, from a Levantine merchant in Holland, and communicated to the surveyor, but unluckily the colour and scantlings did not answer his purpose, so it rested in expectance of a fitter opportunity, else probably this curious and stately design had been finished at the same time with the main fabric.”

The Geometrical Staircase in the south tower is a circular ascent, of a diameter of twenty-five feet, with steps nearly six feet broad at their outer edge. The steps at one end are imbedded in the wall, at the other they rest mathematically on each other without any support from below, but connected above by Tijou's iron railing.

The Whispering Gallery is almost exactly one hundred feet from the pavement, and about the same distance across. The curious acoustic effect is produced partly by the circular shape of the wall, partly by its smoothness, partly by the fact that the whole wall of the dome slopes inwards from the eight great supporting arches with a view to avoiding any outward thrust from the stupendous weight above, and partly perhaps by the nearness of the overhanging concave hemisphere.

With regard to the dome, it would be unwise to blame Wren for having so great a space between the interior and exterior covering. Construction apart, if the interior had risen to the great height

of the exterior, it would have been out of proportion to the space below. The interior surface is of the exact height for the satisfaction of the eye in point of harmonious relation to the rest of the Cathedral. The lantern, in itself a very large structure, said to weigh 700 tons, rests on the invisible cone of brick, which is itself secured by the vast supports and abutments which rise from the central portion of the crypt; and the exterior dome, which is of timber covered with lead, resting on a forest of timber beams, is supported in the same way. The weak point of the construction, about which Wren himself was not satisfied, is to be found in the flattened curves and curtain walls of the four great intermediate arches of the dome. The solid filling up of these spaces at St. Peter's avoids these difficulties.

The painting of the interior of the dome was given, in spite of Wren's remonstrances, to Sir James Thornhill, who decorated it with scenes from the life of St. Paul in monochrome. Wren desired to cover that vast and important space with brilliant mosaics, lightening instead of darkening the huge canopy. The architectural divisions of Thornhill's design do not harmonize with the lines of the building, and in the opinion of Mr. Penrose, the late learned and accomplished surveyor of St. Paul's, tend to give the thirty-two Corinthian pilasters of the dome the appearance of leaning forward.

The lectern was finished in 1720 by Jacob Sutton, at a cost of £241 15s., which, like all the other figures of that date, must be multiplied by five to give the modern value. The font, of veined Carrara marble, was the work of the sculptor Bird. Bird also carved the group of the Conversion of St. Paul in the pediment of the west front. The Phoenix over the southern portico was the work of Caius Gabriel Cibber. The statue of Queen Anne with the four attendant figures in front of the west end of the Cathedral was by Bird.

The windows were left plain. In a classical building, the windows form no part of architectural decoration as such, as they are in a Gothic cathedral, and are only stately apertures at distant intervals for the admission of light. The area of windows in Westminster Abbey is proportionally about three times that of St. Paul's. A classical building requires no shadowy recesses, or distant depths of dim religious light. Every part is equally balanced, and the harmonious proportions and ornamentation of the whole require an equal distribution of light. Light cannot enter except by windows; and as the exact number necessary for this purpose has been accurately calculated by the consummate genius of Wren, it is a mistake to be led by the Gothic habit of thought and association to darken the windows with heavy tinted glass. Colour is needed, and must come by painting, marble or mosaic. If the windows are darkened, however much painting, marble or mosaic may enrich the walls, it will not be seen. And the need of light is much greater than in Wren's day, for the surrounding buildings are vastly higher, the skies greyer and more smoke-laden, the fogs more frequent.

CHAPTER XXI

IN THE DAYS OF WILLIAM III., MARY AND ANNE

HENRY COMPTON, who held the See of London thirty-eight years (1675-1713), was sixth son of Spencer Compton, second Earl of Northampton, one of the most heroic of the Cavalier commanders, who fell at the Battle of Hopton Heath, near Stafford, in 1642-3. Henry's brother, the third earl, was also a Royalist leader, and at the entry of Charles II. into London led a band of two hundred mounted gentlemen arrayed in grey and blue. Another brother, Sir Charles, was famous for the surprise of Beeston Castle; the third, Sir William, was also a Cavalier leader; the fourth, Sir Spencer, accompanied Charles II. into exile; the fifth, Sir Francis, became a general after the Restoration. The grandfather, the first earl, married the daughter and heiress of Sir John Spencer, Lord Mayor of London. "Compton was not famous for intense piety or profound learning, but was a fine example of the high-born, high-minded prelate, who, blameless in life, sustained the authority of his office with simple dignity, performed all its duties with quiet industry, trod his arduous path not without prudence, but with conscientious courage, never wantonly defying, but encountering the King's aggressions with resolute firmness."¹ On April 17, 1673, Evelyn heard a sermon from him at Court: "Dr. Compton, brother to the Earl of Northampton, preached on 1 Cor. 11-16, showing the Church's power in ordaining things indifferent; this worthy person's talent is not preaching, but he is like to make a grave and serious good man." In another

¹ Milman's *Annals*, p 411

place in his *Diary* (September 3, 1676), he says: "The Bishop had once been a soldier (he was a Cornet in Lord Oxford's Regiment of Guards), had also travelled in Italy, and became a most sober, grave and excellent prelate." He was originally of Queen's College, Oxford, afterwards Master of Arts of Cambridge, and incorporated in the same degree at Oxford in 1666. He became Canon of Christ Church, Master of St. Cross's Hospital, near Winchester, Doctor of Divinity 1669, Bishop of Oxford 1674 and Bishop of London December 18, 1675. He had been entrusted with the religious education of the two future Queens, Mary and Anne, the daughters of James, Duke of York. In 1685 he seconded William, Earl of Devonshire, in his proposal to take into full consideration the speech of James II., in which he had avowed his determination to protect his Roman Catholic officers from the Test Act, and was in consequence deposed by the King from his office of Dean of the Chapel Royal; and his name was struck out of the list of Privy Councillors. Later on in the year James forbade the clergy to touch on controversy in their sermons. The spirit of the whole order rose against this attempted despotism, and amongst others, Sharp, Dean of Norwich and Rector of St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, preached a strong sermon against the Roman faith. Compton received orders from James's minister, Sunderland, to suspend Sharp. He represented to the King the difficulty of such a proceeding in the existing temper of the country, and at the same time asked Sharp not to appear in his pulpit for some time. James at once created a new Court of High Commission, to which the whole Church of England was subjected; it consisted of seven members, of whom Jeffreys, the Lord Chancellor, was the chief. Compton was ordered before this illegal tribunal, rudely and brutally browbeaten by Jeffreys, and suspended from all spiritual functions, the charge

of his diocese being committed to two of his judges, Crewe, Bishop of Durham, and Sprat of Rochester. He continued to live at Fulham Palace, and to receive his revenues. It was during this retirement that he planted those noble trees in the grounds at Fulham, of which a few still remain, but which about thirty years ago were still in the glory of a splendid old age. As he was still suspended, he did not take part in the remonstrance of Archbishop Sancroft and his six colleagues against the Declaration of Indulgence in 1688; but in the medal which was afterwards struck his head occupies the centre of one side (as he had always suffered for his courage), with those of the six Bishops round him, while the Primate's effigy occupies the obverse. With Shrewsbury, Devonshire, Danby, Lumley, Russell and Sidney he signed the invitation to the Prince of Orange. When the Princess Anne fled from her father her hackney-coach was guarded by the Earl of Dorset and the Bishop of London. The first night she spent in the Bishop's Palace in Aldersgate Street. Next morning they rode to Dorset's house in Epping Forest. Equally unsafe if they remained there, or attempted to join the Prince of Orange at Salisbury, they took refuge with the northern insurgents. To ensure the safety of his royal pupil, the Bishop for the moment put off his episcopal costume, and resumed that of his youth in the Life Guards, riding before the carriage in a buff coat and jack-boots, with a sword at his side and pistols in his holsters. Arriving at Nottingham, he consented to act as colonel to the troop of gentlemen who mustered round the Princess. It was uncanonical; but the liberties of England, civil and religious, were at stake, and every leader was of moment.

On the entry of William into London, Compton welcomed him at the head of the London clergy, who were followed by a hundred Nonconformist ministers. When the Comprehension Bill was under

discussion Compton was its zealous supporter. It was Compton who crowned William and Mary; the Primate Sancroft had taken the lead of the non-juring party, and retired to an estate in Suffolk. When the Primacy became vacant in 1691 Compton fully expected it; but it was felt that at such a crisis a leading theologian was needed; and it was given to Tillotson, the gentle and learned Dean of St. Paul's, formerly Dean of Canterbury, who in 1689 had succeeded Stillingfleet when the latter was made Bishop of Worcester. "Tillotson was a man of acknowledged learning; he was the most popular preacher of his day. He was endeared to the Whigs by his connection with the martyr of their party: he had attended Lord Russell at his death; he had been the comforter, the spiritual adviser of his incomparable wife. No one could fulfil more entirely the apostolic precept, 'Let your moderation be known unto all men.'"¹ Compton was at first mortified and disappointed, and showed coldness; but he was not unforgiving, and Birch, in his *Life of Tillotson*, shows that the intercourse between them at Lambeth was friendly. In 1691 Compton, with Norfolk, Ormond, Devonshire, Dorset, Portland, Monmouth, and others, attended William on his first visit as King of England to Holland, when a Congress took place at the Hague, and further preparations were made for the war with France.

The Peace of Ryswick was signed in September, 1697. On the 16th November King William made his triumphant entry into London from Margate and Greenwich, passing by the new Cathedral, which was surrounded by three regiments of Londoners, and at the east end of which were drawn up the boys of Christ's Hospital. December 2 was appointed to be the day of national thanksgiving for the peace. "The Chapter of St. Paul's resolved that on that day their new Cathedral, which had

¹ Milman's *Annals*, p. 416.

long been slowly rising on the ruins of a succession of pagan and Christian temples, should be opened for public worship. William announced his intention of being one of the congregation. But it was represented to him that if he persisted in that intention, three hundred thousand people would assemble to see him pass, and all the parish churches of London would be left empty. He therefore attended the service in his own chapel at Whitehall, and heard Burnet preach a sermon somewhat too eulogistic for the gravity of the pulpit. At St. Paul's the magistrates of the City appeared in all their state. Compton was, for the first time, seated on a throne rich with the sculpture of Gibbons. When the prayers were over, the Bishop exhorted the numerous and splendid assembly. His discourse has not been preserved, but its purport may be easily guessed; for he took for his text that noble song: 'I was glad when they said unto me, Let us go into the house of the Lord.' . . . Throughout London, and in every part of the realm, even to the remotest parishes of Cumberland and Cornwall, the churches were filled on the morning of that day; and the evening was an evening of festivity."¹ St. Paul's must indeed have presented an appearance of wonderful beauty, clean and fair in all the freshness of the stone from Portland. No consecration was needed, for the building stood on the hallowed ground of the superb cathedral of past ages.

In the glorious reign of Anne, the services of special thanksgiving were numerous. Year after year she went in solemn procession to commemorate brilliant victories; seven times she fulfilled this welcome duty; from the eighth she was only prevented from being present in person by increasing bodily infirmity. Blenheim, Gibraltar, Ramillies, Majorca, Minorca, Oudenarde, Malplaquet and the rest made indeed a glowing record

¹ Macaulay's *History*, vol. iv. p. 809.

for a reign of twelve years. The first was on November 12, in Anne's first year. Milman quotes a full description of it from the contemporary records, as it was the model for so many others. It was "for the success of John, Earl of Marlborough, in the Low Countries, and for the destruction of the Spanish fleet in the Port of Vigo by the Duke of Ormonde and Sir George Rooke; 'burning, sinking, and taking many ships of war, and great riches of their enemies.' The Council declared that the Cathedral being for that day the Queen's Chapel Royal, the seats were to be disposed of, and all the arrangements made by the Lord Chamberlain. The Queen's throne was 'exactly as in the House of Lords,' about three feet higher than the floor of the choir, covered with a Persian carpet, and a canopy upheld by iron rods fastened to the organ-loft above, fifteen feet high; 'with an armed-chair on the throne, with a faldstool before it, and a desk for the Queen's book covered with crimson velvet, richly embroidered and fringed with gold, with a cushion thereon of the same. Some distance behind were stools for the Countess of Marlborough, Groom of the Stole, the Countess of Sunderland, Lady of the Bedchamber-in-waiting. Further behind stood the Vice-Chamberlain, with other Officers of State.' The two Houses of Parliament determined to assist at the ceremony: the Lords, in the area or body of the choir as a House of Lords. The Commons were called over, the Speaker sitting on the seat often occupied by the Bishop of London in the middle of the south side of the choir, with the Serjeant-at-Arms and officers just below him, the members in the stalls and galleries on each side. The Lord Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen sat in the furthestmost lower galleries towards the altar; foreign ministers and their ladies in the middle gallery on the north side. Compton sat in his official seat at the south-east end of the choir; the Dean, Canons and Preben-

daries on chairs within the rails of the altar; the choirs (Chapels Royal and others) and their music in the upper galleries on each side of the organ.

"In the procession to the Cathedral the House of Commons led the way. At eight o'clock they proceeded to St. James's Palace, then along Pall Mall, and so to the Cathedral. The Lords met at ten; the procession, preceded by the officers of the House, consisted of Masters in Chancery, Judges, Peers under age, then Barons, Bishops, and the other nobles according to rank; then the great Officers of State, the Archbishops, and Sir Nathan Wright, Keeper of the Great Seal. All the while till the arrival of the Queen the organ continued playing voluntaries. At eleven the Queen took coach at St. James's; at Temple Bar she was received, according to custom, by the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen on horseback. The Lord Mayor presented the sword with a short speech; the Queen returned it, and the Lord Mayor bore it before her to the Cathedral. On her arrival at the west door the Queen was met by the peers and principal officers of state, and conducted up the nave to her throne. She knelt at her faldstool, and after a short ejaculation rose and seated herself. The music ceased. Dr. Stanley, Residentiary, read the first part of the service, after which the *Te Deum* was sung with vocal and instrumental music. The old Whig Bishop of Exeter, Sir Jonathan Trelawney, one of the Seven in the Tower, preached an 'excellent' sermon on Joshua xxiii. 9: 'But as for you, no man hath been able to stand before you unto this day.' It lasted about half-an-hour; then came the anthem, prayers and benediction. The Queen led the way back; and the Tower guns, those on the river and those in St. James's Park, were fired three times. Such was the model and precedent for royal processions and receptions at St. Paul's in the eighteenth century."

The second thanksgiving was on September 7,

1704, to celebrate the victory of Blenheim. Parliament was not sitting, but the Peers, Privy Councillors, and great Officers of State were in attendance. There was full service, with ante-communion. The preacher was the Dean of St. Paul's, Sherlock, the text Ps. lviii. 11: "Doubtless there is a God that judgeth in the earth."

The third occasion was August 27, 1705, commemorating the forcing of the French lines at Tirlmont by the Duke of Marlborough; the sermon was by Dr. Willis, Dean of Lincoln.

On July 1, 1706, the thanksgiving was for the Battle of Ramillies, and for Peterborough's successes in Catalonia; the preacher was Stanhope, Dean of Canterbury.

At the national service on January 1, 1707, for fresh success, the preacher was the Bishop of Salisbury; at that in May of the same year the Bishop of Oxford.

On August 23, 1708, the national gratitude was expressed for the victory of Oudenarde; the preacher was the Bishop of St. Asaph.

On July 7, 1713, thanks were returned for the Peace of Utrecht, both Houses of Parliament attending in full state. This was six months before the death of Anne, and she was already too unwell to be present in person. It was on this day that the children of the newly formed Charity Schools first made a feature in the streets. In 1698 had been founded the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; and under its auspices these Charity Schools began to spring up everywhere. In about eight years five hundred were established. In many of these schools the children were clothed and fed, as well as taught. Special care was given to their religious instruction. They became famous on the Continent, and accounts of them, translated into German, led to the formation of similar institutions in Germany and Switzerland. Later on, the Charity children in London had an annual service

under the dome of St. Paul's, which was not discontinued till the rearrangement of the choir enabled daily service to be held in that vast area, a practice which not even the wooden galleries for the Charity children could be allowed to disturb.

In the year 1710, Sir Christopher Wren, perhaps in person (as seems implied by the Wren MS.), perhaps by the hands of his son, with Mr. Edward Strong in attendance, the mason who had executed the whole work from the beginning, first as worker, then as master, and the whole body of the Freemasons, of which the great architect was an active member, laid the last and highest stone of the lantern of the cupola, with humble prayers for the divine blessing on the work.

CHAPTER XXII

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AFTER ANNE

Two Deans of St. Paul's were about this time promoted directly to the Archbishopric of Canterbury: Sancroft in 1677 and Tillotson in 1691. Sancroft had been succeeded by the famous *Edward Stillingfleet*, Rector of St. Andrew's, Holborn; he held with the Deanery the Archdeaconry of London, which had been vacant three years. At the age of twenty-four he published his celebrated *Irenicon*, with a view to peace with the Nonconformists. Twenty years later, in 1682, he wrote his *Unreasonableness of Separation*, a very able work; he was still in favour of some concessions, and wished for a further review of the Prayer Book. He refused to read James II.'s Declaration of Indulgence, and in 1689 was appointed by William III. to the Bishopric of Worcester; on the vacancy at Canterbury, Tillotson strongly advised his appointment to the Primacy. Stillingfleet's controversial writings, his *Origines Sacrae*, his *Antiquities of the British Church*, his criticisms on the philosophy of Locke, were long held to be standard works.

His successor, Tillotson (November 19, 1689—June 12, 1691), held the Deanery too short a time to make his mark in that position, especially as St. Paul's was still unfinished. He "had the ambition of establishing in the weary, worn-out, distracted, perplexed mind and heart of England, a Christianity of calm reason, of plain, practical English good sense."¹ He was the foremost leader of the school of toleration, the most popular preacher of his day, and a master of English prose.

¹ Milman's *Annals*, p. 420.

The Lower House of Convocation was against any concessions. "When he observed," wrote Calamy, "with what resolution the body of them from the very first declared against any alterations, and how they fortified and strengthened their confederacies and combinations, he was convinced that the method he had been for was really impracticable as things then stood, and therefore was not for repeating the dangerous experiment, or having any more to do with Convocations all the while he continued Archbishop."¹ He endeavoured to govern the Church by royal injunctions; and in the disturbed condition of that time, and with such a king as William on the throne, no policy could have been more unfortunate.

The successor of Tillotson in the Deanery of St. Paul's was *Dr. William Sherlock*, Master of the Temple. He had advocated the very highest notions of nonjuring loyalty in his *Case of Resistance*, but having incurred suspension, he changed his mind, and published to the world his reason for doing so in a work called *The Case of Allegiance due to a Sovereign Power*. In this he declared that his acceptance of the *de facto* government was greatly influenced by the publication of the canons passed by the first Convocation of James II., which had lately been made known for the first time by Archbishop Sancroft. In these Sherlock discovered some that were strongly for a government *de facto*. Six Bishops, including the Primate, and about 400 beneficed clergy, were deprived by the operation of the Act on February 1, 1690: to all of these Sherlock would appear a renegade. Macaulay has given a long description of the appointment of Sherlock: "As soon as the name of the new Dean was known, a clamour broke forth such as perhaps no ecclesiastical appointment has ever produced: a clamour made up of yells of hatred, of hisses of contempt,

¹ Calamy's *Autobiography*, p. 210.

and of shouts of triumphant and half-exulting welcome." The passage is too long for insertion, but part of the source of the uproar must be indicated: "The popular belief (this probably was most galling to the Dean) was that his retractation was the effect of the tears, expostulations and reproaches of his wife. The lady's spirit was high; her authority in the family was great; and she cared much more about her house and carriage, the plenty of her table, and the prospects of her children, than about the patriarchal origin of government, or the meaning of the word 'abdication.' She had, it was said, given her husband no peace by day or by night till he had got over his scruples. In letters, fables, songs, dialogues without number, her powers of seduction and intimidation were malignantly extolled. She was Xanthippe pouring water on the head of Socrates. She was Delilah shearing Samson. She was Eve forcing the forbidden fruit into Adam's mouth. She was Job's wife, imploring her ruined lord, who sate scraping himself among the ashes, not to curse and die, but to swear and live."¹

During the eighteenth century there were eight Bishops of London: Robinson, Gibson, Thomas Sherlock, Hayter, Osbaldeston, Terrick, Lowth and Porteus. Three of these have left a name: Gibson, Thomas Sherlock and Lowth.

John Robinson succeeded Compton in 1713; he had been ambassador at Warsaw, and a plenipotentiary at the Peace of Utrecht. He had held a deanery, and the Bishopric of Bristol.

He was followed in 1723 by *Edmund Gibson*, who held the See a quarter of a century. He will be always remembered as the learned compiler of the vast *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani*. He was born at Bampton, in Westmoreland, in 1669, and went up to Queen's College, Oxford, where, at the

¹ Macaulay, iv. 44-50.

early age of twenty-two, he distinguished himself by the publication of a valuable edition of the *Saxon Chronicle*. In 1694 came a translation of Camden's *Britannia*, with additions. The same year he was appointed chaplain and librarian to Archbishop Tenison; and, later on, Rector of Lambeth and Archdeacon of Surrey. In the disputes about Convocation he warmly supported the right of the Archbishop to continue to prorogue it. The *Codex* followed in 1713, a work which discusses more learnedly and comprehensively than any other the legal rights and duties of the English clergy, and the constitutions, canons and articles of the English Church. In 1715 he became Bishop of Lincoln, in 1725 Bishop of London, where, during the long illness of Archbishop Wake, he was practically Primate. A conservative in Church politics, he respected the various forms of dissent, and discouraged all attempts to prevent dissenters from worshipping in the manner and according to the principles which they preferred. He exercised a vigilant oversight over the morals of all ranks and classes of his diocese; and his fearless denunciation of the licentious masquerades which had become highly popular at Court finally lost him the royal favour. In later years he wrote a series of *Pastoral Letters* in defence of "Gospel Revelation," and against "lukewarmness" and "enthusiasm" (excitement), as well as a *Preservative against Popery* in three folio volumes (1738), which is still printed. He died September 6, 1748.

Sherlock's successor as Dean of St. Paul's, *Henry Godolphin*, was uncle by marriage to one of Marlborough's daughters, and brother of the famous minister of William III. and Anne. His name at St. Paul's is marred by his conduct to the illustrious Wren. In 1726 he resigned the Deanery for the Provostship of Eton, where he is remembered as a munificent benefactor. He was succeeded by the tutor of Marlborough's son, *Francis Hare*, who

had also been Chaplain-General and Dean of Salisbury, and as Canon-Residentiary of St. Paul's had been equally obnoxious to Wren. Hare is remembered for his witty and sagacious dissuasive from Biblical criticism, which had been censured by Convocation. He became Bishop of St. Asaph, and of Chichester, and was the ancestor of Augustus and Julius Hare, two remarkable clergymen in the nineteenth century.

Joseph Butler, the philosopher, became Dean of St. Paul's in 1740, and held office for ten years. In 1738 he had been made Bishop of Bristol, the income of which was only £400, so that the See was always held with other preferment. Butler kept it till he was translated to Durham in 1750. It was in 1736 that he published the *Analogy*, and in 1726 the famous *Fifteen Sermons*, which he had preached at the Rolls Chapel. In 1746 he was made Clerk of the Closet to George II., and in 1747 he received the offer of the Primacy. A nephew, John Butler, a rich bachelor, came up to town prepared to advance £20,000 for the heavy expenses necessary to taking up that exalted and responsible position in Church and State, in first-fruits, tenths, and the furniture and apparatus of so vast a house as Lambeth. Butler, however, who was naturally of a melancholy and desponding disposition, was deeply impressed with the worldliness, viciousness and scepticism of the age: he replied that "it was too late for him to try to support a falling Church." It is unnecessary to say more about him, as his name belongs to English literature and theology.

Gibson was succeeded in the Bishopric of London by *Thomas Sherlock*, son of the former Dean. Born in London, he was educated at Catherine Hall, Cambridge, and in 1704, at the early age of twenty-six, succeeded his father as Master of the Temple. He took a prominent part in the Bangorian controversy against Hoadley, who had impugned the notion of the existence of any visible Church, and

scoffed at the maintenance of tests of orthodoxy, and the claims of ecclesiastical government. In 1728 he succeeded him as Bishop of Bangor; was translated to Salisbury in 1734, and to London in 1738. His skill in business and the affairs of his university earned him from Bentley the name of "a little Alberoni." In controversy he was considered powerful against Hoadley, the Deists, Tindal and Woolston. His sermons were long held to be the model of English pulpit eloquence; not merely from his masculine vigour and sustained force, but because, in harmony with the English taste of the age, he aimed at no flights of rhetoric.

Three uneventful episcopates followed: that of *Thomas Hayter* (1761),¹ *Richard Osbaldeston*, of a landed family in Yorkshire (1762),² *R. Terrick* (1764).³ *Robert Lowth*, who succeeded, held the See thirteen years; he was a great Hebrew scholar for his day, and master of a Latin style rarely surpassed in purity and elegance. His lectures on Hebrew poetry, as Professor of Poetry at Oxford, are regarded by Milman as making an epoch in Biblical criticism by suggesting how large a part of Biblical language is poetical, and belongs to the metaphors, apologies, and the allegories of the imaginative East. Lowth was also known as the successful combatant with the literary tyrant of the day, Bishop Warburton.

*Bishop Porteus*⁴ closes the episcopal list at St. Paul's in the eighteenth century. He held the See from 1787 to 1809. He is described by Milman (who could recollect him) as "a man of no great

¹ Preceptor to George III. and the Duke of York; Bishop of Norwich.

² Dean of York, Bishop of Carlisle.

³ Vicar of Twickenham, Canon of Windsor, Canon of St. Paul's, Bishop of Peterborough.

⁴ Bishop of Chester; supported the rising Evangelical party in both his Sees; an early patron of the Church Missionary Society and of the Bible Society.

learning or power, but of singular sweetness of character and amenity of manners, suitable perhaps for the rough and turbulent age in which he lived (the era of the French Revolution)." He was gifted with a voice the beauty of the tones of which could never be forgotten. He also bequeathed to Fulham Palace what is still known as the Porteus Library, which he placed in what had been the chapel, using the hall of the palace for the purposes of worship. Bishop Tait restored the hall, and built a new chapel.

There were five Deans of St. Paul's during the latter half of the eighteenth century: Secker, Hume, Cornwallis, Thurlow, Pretymen; two of them Primates, three Bishops. *Thomas Secker* (1750-58) was son of a Nonconformist. His writings were respected in his own day, but his history belongs rather to the Archbishops of Canterbury; in 1735 he was Bishop of Bristol; 1737, Bishop of Oxford; and in 1758 Primate. *John Hume* was Dean from 1758-66, and successively Bishop of Bristol, Oxford and Salisbury. *Frederick Cornwallis*, seventh son of Charles fourth Lord Cornwallis, was Dean from 1766 to 1768, Bishop of Lichfield 1749, and became Primate in 1768. Thomas Newton was Dean from 1768 to 1782; he held also the Bishopric of Bristol. He was known as the author of a book on the interpretation of Old Testament prophecy, which was never on a critical basis, and is now quite obsolete; he also wrote an amusing autobiography illustrative of the manners and customs of the day, and, amongst other things, of the eagerness for preferment which is characteristic of worldly times, and which has been not unknown in earlier ages. He was a man of letters, accomplished, with a taste for pictures and prints. It was in his day that Sir Joshua Reynolds, and the other members of the Royal Academy, then recently founded, proposed to paint Scriptural pictures for the adornment of St. Paul's. The project was overruled by Bishop

Terrick, who was alarmed on Protestant grounds. Even Newton's own suggestion that Sir Joshua and West (who succeeded to the presidency) should fill two compartments over the doors north and south of the apse was rejected. West was to have painted the "Giving of the Law," Sir Joshua "Christ in the Manger." The latter idea was afterwards utilized by Sir Joshua in his window at New College, Oxford. Newton died at the Deanery in 1782; the monument which he had designed for himself at St. Paul's was rejected by his colleagues, and may be seen at St. Mary-le-Bow in Cheapside.

His successor, *Thomas Thurlow*, was brother of Lord Chancellor Thurlow, and father of the second peer. Amongst other honours he became Master of the Temple, Dean of Rochester (1775-79), Bishop of Lincoln (1779), Dean of St. Paul's (1782) and Bishop of Durham in 1787. He died in 1791.

He was followed by *Sir George Pretymman-Tomline*, tutor of William Pitt (Dean from 1787 to 1820). He held the Bishopric of Lincoln with the Deanery (consecrated 1787) and resigned the latter on being promoted to Winchester in 1820. Pitt intended him to succeed Archbishop Moore as Primate in 1805, but George III., hearing in the hunting-field of the vacancy, galloped many miles to Windsor to effect the immediate appointment of Manners Sutton, the Dean of Windsor. He insisted on being shown up *incognito* into the Dean's dressing-room, where he was preparing for dinner, and announced his intentions to the astonished dignitary by saying, "What a lot of boots you've got, my Lord Archbishop!"

There was little of a memorable character in St. Paul's during the greater part of the Georgian era. "After the accession of the House of Brunswick, and the procession of George I. to St. Paul's, the royal presence was not vouchsafed for more than seventy years in the Cathedral."¹ George II.

¹ Milman's *Annals*, p. 473.

never paid it an official visit. On April 25, 1789, there was a solemn procession for George III. to return thanks for his recovery from his grievous illness. "The nation, with whom the sorrows (and virtues) of the King had rendered him highly popular, beheld him, with the Queen, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, and others of rank, in royal state, along the streets. There was the usual ceremony at Temple Bar, the Lord Mayor and the civic authorities performing their usual functions. The King, followed by his family, drove through the open space, was received at the west door, and conducted up the nave by Bishop Porteus and Dean Pretzman. Both Houses of Parliament were in attendance; the Peers filled the body of the choir, the Commons the stalls. The sermon was preached by the Bishop of London. With the choir were the Charity children (6,000), who joined in parts of the service."¹

"A second time George III. went in procession with all the royal family, December 23, 1797, in thanksgiving for the naval victories. Both Houses of Parliament were present. The distinguishing and imposing part of that ceremonial was the bearing the French, and Spanish, and Dutch flags captured in the several actions. The French flag, taken on June 1 (by Lord Howe in the English Channel), was borne by Admiral Caldwell, with eight admirals and captains—Sir Thomas Pasley, Sir Roger Curtis, Admiral Bazely, Admiral Gambier, Lord Hugh Seymour, Captain Payne, Captain Domett, Captain Elphinstone. Admiral Goodall, with three others—Linzee, Young, Holloway—bore the flag of March 14, 1795. Sir Alan Gardner, with Admiral Hamilton and four others, carried that of June 23, 1795; Sir Charles Thompson that of February 14, 1797; Admiral Waldegrave that of February 18, 1797, at the head of a famous group—Sir

¹ Milman's *Annals*, p. 473.

Horatio Nelson and six captains. Captain Douglas bore the flag of Admiral Lucas, taken August 17, 1796. Then appeared the Dutch trophies of Camperdown, October 11, 1797: Lord Duncan bearing the flag of De Winter, Sir Richard Onslow that of Admiral Reinjies; ten captains of the fleet followed."¹

Towards the close of the reign of George I. (1723) came the quiet funeral procession of Sir Christopher Wren, when his remains were laid in the south-east corner of the crypt, beside those of his beloved daughter. Round him are the graves of the great painters and sculptors who have given Artists' Corner at St. Paul's a fame like that of Poets' Corner in Westminster Abbey.

On March 3, 1793, with a procession of nearly one hundred carriages, the body of Sir Joshua Reynolds was conveyed to the Cathedral. The most distinguished peers begged for the honour of being his pall-bearers: the Dukes of Dorset, Leeds and Portland, Marquis Townshend, the Marquis of Abercorn, the Earls of Inchiquin and Upper-Ossory, Viscount Palmerston, Lord Eliot. The colleagues and disciples whose remains in after years were laid to rest in that sacred space will be mentioned in the chapter on the burials and monuments of St. Paul's.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 474.

CHAPTER XXIII

ST. PAUL'S IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

AT the beginning of the nineteenth century St. Paul's suffered a grievous loss from thieves, aided, it was feared, though never proved, by accomplices from within. The *Gentleman's Magazine* thus describes the misfortune: "Sunday, December 23, 1810.—This morning the sacrist of St. Paul's Cathedral, on approaching the repository where the sacramental plate is kept, in order to take it to the altar, found the iron door had been double-locked. As his key could only open it when single-locked, he concluded the officer who kept the master-key had done it; he accordingly went to him, and they both repaired to the spot, when, on opening the door, a most affecting scene presented itself. The two large chests had been forced open, and emptied of their valuable contents; a magnificent edition of the Bible and Common Prayer in two volumes, the covers of which were of solid silver, most beautifully chased with Scripture history, was deprived of its ornaments; and the whole of the immense booty, amounting to 1,761 ounces, was carried off. The villains seem to have acted with the most cool deliberation. To effect their purpose they had to pass eight doors before they reached the repository; each of these doors they opened, and on their return carefully relocked, excepting the iron door, which they double-locked. The large chests were each secured by two immense padlocks, besides the principal chest-locks; the padlocks they opened, but the locks baffling their exertions, they contrived to force the chests open. The robbery must certainly have been committed on the night of

Friday or Saturday, as on the former day the plate was used at an Ordination. The intrinsic value of the plunder is not the only thing to be lamented; as a great part of it was of the most curious antique workmanship, being presents from different Deans and other pious persons, and might be considered as exquisite specimens of the workmanship of the different ages in which they lived, and could not now be executed at less than £2,000. Every precaution and means have been taken to discover the depredators, but hitherto without effect.”¹

Malcolm, who wrote in 1803, some years before the robbery, gives a description of the plate—

“The great Bible (1640) with a silver-gilt cover, representing a temple, with Moses and Aaron between the columns, and Jacob’s Dream on one side; with the inscription, ‘Verbum Domini manet in æternum.’ On the other side, Elijah fed by Ravens, with the words, ‘Habent Mosen et Prophetas: audiant illos.’

“A most superb silver-gilt and embossed prayer-book, adorned with angels, a Glory, pillars, etc., inscribed: ‘Oculi Domini super istos et aures ejus in preces eorum,’ and ‘Fiant orationes pro omnibus hominibus, pro regibus.’

“Two silver-gilt chalices with patens, embossed with a saint, bearing ‘Agnus Dei.’

“A pair of patens.

“Two large silver-gilt plates, the gift of Charles Smith, late Prebendary of St. Paul’s and Archdeacon of Colchester. The bottoms of these plates embossed with representations of the Lord’s Supper, and the widow giving her mite; the rims with the donor’s arms and crest, cherubim and scrolls.

“Two enormous tankards, finely embossed, given by the same.

¹ *Gentleman’s Magazine*, vol. lxxx. pt. ii. p. 655.

"A very large silver-gilt plate with the Lord's Supper, cornucopiae and emblematical figures.

"Two large tankards of silver-gilt, very much embossed.

"A large silver-gilt plate.

"A pair of silver-gilt candlesticks, two feet nine inches; a second pair, a little shorter."

Since that time St. Paul's has been presented with a set of gold plate, of the value of about £1,500, by Canon Scott Holland.

The Bishops of London in the nineteenth century were eight: John Randolph, William Howley, Charles James Blomfield, Archibald Campbell Tait, John Jackson, Frederick Temple, Mandell Creighton and Arthur Foley Winnington-Ingram.

John Randolph (1809-13) was a distinguished Oxford scholar, Professor of Poetry, Professor of Greek, Professor of Moral Philosophy and of Divinity. He held the Sees successively of Oxford, Bangor and London.

William Howley (1813-28) was Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford. While at Fulham, he encased the picturesque old garden court, with its red-brick towers and battlements of the time of Henry VI. with plain yellow-brick Georgian walls. In 1828 he was translated to Canterbury and rebuilt a large part of Lambeth Palace in the Gothic of that period. His architect was his brother-in-law, Mr. Belli.

Charles James Blomfield (1829-56) was the son of a schoolmaster at Bury St. Edmund's. He was Fellow of Trinity, Cambridge, held one or two country rectories, and then the important parish of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate. In 1822 he was Archdeacon of Colchester, in 1824 Bishop of Chester, and after five years was translated to London. He resigned from ill health in 1856, and died next year at Fulham. He was one of the most active Bishops of his day: started funds in various parts of London for building new churches, and

consecrated more than two hundred during his tenure of the See. He was the last who received the unrestricted revenue of the Bishopric, and gave more than £100,000 to the cause of church-building. He was an ardent Church-reformer, and passed the Pluralities Act, which put an end to an old and grievous scandal. He was also mainly instrumental in establishing the Ecclesiastical Commission, which receives and administers the superfluous estates of the Bishoprics and Cathedral Chapters. The incomes of Archbishops, Bishops and Chapters were arranged on a more reasonable scale, and great sums were liberated for founding new parishes, endowing poor churches, and other practical Church objects throughout the country. To speak roughly, the income of the Commissioners is about £1,000,000 a year, two-fifths of which they receive from the old estates of the Bishopric of London and the Chapter of St. Paul's. This reform has been incalculably to the advantage of the Church and country. Bishop Blomfield was the first prelate to appear at Court without the official wig. Sir George Sinclair was a friend both of William IV. and the Bishop: after a visit at Fulham, he was driving off to stay with the King at Windsor, and asked his host if he could convey any message. The Bishop, with a laugh, said that as the weather was so warm he would be glad to be allowed to leave off his wig. The King, with his usual bluff good-humour, settled the question at once; and gradually the Bishops left off the emblem of dignity still worn by judges and barristers. The last Archbishop who wore it was Sumner.

Archibald Campbell Tait (1856-69) was Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College, Oxford, and one of the Four Tutors who protested against Newman's Tract No. XC. He was a man of robust good sense, strong humour and every statesmanlike quality, as well as of the deepest and most earnest piety, and even in the estimation of those who disagreed from

his opinions, he was one of the very ablest of the long line of Bishops of London and Primates. He succeeded Arnold as headmaster of Rugby, where he remained seven years, and he was seven years Dean of Carlisle. In 1850 he was one of the Royal Commission on the University of Oxford; in 1856 he became Bishop of London. He gathered Bishop Blomfield's various church-building associations into one great Bishop of London's Fund for providing for the spiritual wants of the diocese, which has achieved inestimable good, and was in every way an indefatigable leader in the development of Church work in London. He had the full confidence of the laity, and no member of the House of Lords was listened to with deeper attention than he received as Primate. He was translated to Canterbury in 1869, and died in 1883. One of his permanent results must be given in detail: the account is taken from his *Life*, by Benham and Davidson.

"Ever since his consecration in 1856, he had been throwing himself into every kind of open-air and mission preaching. He would go off from the House of Lords to speak to a shipload of emigrants in the docks, from the Convocation discussions on Church discipline to address the Ragged School children in Golden-lane, or the omnibus drivers in their great yard at Islington. He preached to the costermongers in Covent Garden Market, to railway porters from the platform of a locomotive, to a colony of gipsies on the common at Shepherd's Bush, and this without in any way relaxing the accustomed round of Confirmations, sermons and committees which must always occupy a Bishop's time in addition to his huge correspondence. At the same time the impulse came to Lord Shaftesbury and his friends to have Sunday evening services for non-Churchgoers in Exeter Hall, which were attended by vast multitudes. The excitement aroused by the Exeter Hall addresses had

the happy result of strengthening Bishop Tait's hands in his determination to secure the opening of Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's Cathedral for Sunday evening services for the people. From the very day of his consecration he had been in communication upon the subject with his friend Dean Trench, of Westminster, and it was by their joint effort that one by one the many lions in the path were conquered, and at last, on January 3, 1858, the first great Sunday evening service was held in the Abbey in the presence of an overflowing congregation.

"The Westminster difficulties overcome, the Bishop had to face obstacles still graver at St. Paul's. It was at first in vain that he pressed upon the eminent Dean of that day and his colleagues the imperative necessity of utilizing the great space at their command. The impossibilities were endless. 'The want of such services,' wrote the eminent Dean, 'is not felt in the City, where so many churches are available, and it is extremely doubtful whether a sufficient congregation would attend to justify so costly an experiment;' and further, 'there is no fabric fund to provide for the expenses.' The Bishop replied by issuing an appeal for public subscriptions, heading the list himself with a donation of £100. The funds were soon forthcoming, and after further correspondence the space under the dome was at last thrown open to the public on the evening of Advent Sunday, 1858, when the Bishop himself was the preacher. The excitement of the occasion was immense, and Ludgate Hill was for the time completely blocked by the crowd. An hour before the time of service every seat was occupied, and enormous numbers (variously estimated in the newspapers at from 10,000 to 100,000) were turned away for want of room. The services were well attended throughout the winter, and the Bishop exhausted every effort in the endeavour to persuade the Chapter of St. Paul's of fifty years ago to continue them in

spring and summer. He promised to make a further appeal for funds, and to undertake, if desired, the entire responsibility of finding preachers for the Sunday evenings, but the Chapter of those days, to his openly expressed disappointment, unanimously declined to accede to his request, and although the services were resumed every winter, it was not till long afterwards that they were maintained throughout the year."

A direct result of the happy innovation of evening services under the dome, was in after days the rearrangement of the chancel. That was in the period of Dean Gregory, then our reforming Canon. Up till this time there was a heavy oak screen right across the choir, fixed at about a quarter the length of that part of the Cathedral from the dome. On the top of the screen stood the organ. About the year 1858 I visited the Church, and well remember that heavy and gloomy arrangement. All the regular services were conducted behind the screen, and there was only room for 300 or 400 worshippers. Well might Bishop Blomfield stand at the top of Ludgate Hill and exclaim of those times, "Of what use is that vast and magnificent building?" Under Bishop Tait it was to be altered. In consequence of the extraordinary popularity of the evening services under the dome, it was felt that choir and dome should be drawn as close as possible together. The heavy screen was pulled down, the organ was placed on each side of the chancel arch, instead of the monuments to Captain Cooke, of the *Bellerophon*, and Captain Duff, of the *Mars*, two naval heroes who died at the Battle of Trafalgar, now in the crypt. Nelson himself was moved to the south transept. The choir-stalls were transported from the eastern part of the chancel to the west, so that they should touch the dome, and the singers and clergy should be close to that vast auditory. The Holy Table was brought forward from the end of the aisle to its present position, and curtains were

hung behind it, so that the voice of the officiating clergy should not be lost. The whole choir was raised two or three feet from the absolute level on which Wren had constructed it, so that the congregation should be able to see and hear the better.

I have before me the Book of the Special Preachers from 1858 to 1873, compiled by the Dean's verger, from the *Penny Pulpit*. As these services were extra, no record of them was kept by the Chapter. After Bishop Tait followed Dean Milman: Bishop Bickersteth, of Ripon; Dr. Hook, of Leeds; Canon Cadman; Rev. Hampden Gurney; Canon Dale, of St. Paul's; Canon Hugh McNeile; Dr. Vaughan, of Harrow; Dr. Stanley, afterwards Dean of Westminster; Bishop Villiers, of Carlisle; Dr. Goulburn (author of *Personal Religion*); Mr. Eyre, of Marylebone; Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, of Oxford; Canon Champneys, of St. Paul's; Canon Miller, of Birmingham; Dean Alford, of Canterbury; Dean Harvey Goodwin, of Ely; Archdeacon Hale, of London; Canon Boyd, of Cheltenham, afterwards Dean of Exeter; Archdeacon Sinclair, of Middlesex; and Bishop Tait himself concluded the first series on Easter Day. Well-known and honoured names, all of them with many associations. How would a list of five months of evening preachers at the present day compare with these?

Among other names in succeeding years I see Whewell, Master of Trinity; Canon Melvill, the modern Chrysostom; Thomson, afterwards Archbishop of York; Magee, also afterwards Archbishop of York; Bishop Waldegrave, of Carlisle; Sir Emilius Bayley; Wordsworth, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln; Woodford, afterwards Bishop of Ely; Trench, afterwards Archbishop of Dublin; Moberley, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury; Fulford, Bishop of Montreal; Moorhouse, afterwards Bishop of Manchester; Hugh Stowell; a young student of Christ Church named Liddon; Dean Close, Milman, afterwards Bishop of Calcutta; Howson, Dean of

Chester; Temple, Headmaster of Rugby, and afterwards Bishop of London and Archbishop of Canterbury; Merivale, Dean of Ely; Monsell, the Church poet; Falloon, of Liverpool; Barry, afterwards Bishop of Sydney; Alexander, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh; Gregory, of Lambeth, afterwards Canon and Dean; Jackson, Bishop of London; Mansel, Dean of St. Paul's, and many others whom I should like to mention in such a retrospect as this; but I have said enough to show that in those days the evening pulpit commanded the best, the choicest, the most influential names in the whole Church of England. After 1873, when they had lasted fifteen years, the services ceased to be special, and were continued the whole year round.

The great Scotsman was succeeded by a man of deep piety, humble mind, resolute will and sound learning—*John Jackson* (1869-85). After a successful career at Oxford he came into prominence as Rector of St. James's, Piccadilly, where his sermons on personal Christian life attracted many of the most prominent and able men of the day. In 1853 he became Bishop of Lincoln. The great respect in which he was held, and his unhesitating firmness enabled him to rule his dioceses with distinguished success.

Frederic Temple (1885-96), was Fellow and Tutor of Balliol, a Double First-Class-man (his natural bent was mathematical), Headmaster of Rugby, Bishop of Exeter 1869, Archbishop of Canterbury 1896. He was one of those who wrote in *Essays and Reviews*, a volume expounding liberal theology. Each writer was independent of the rest, and his essay, "On the Education of the World," contained nothing unorthodox. But he was involved in the storm that the volume produced; and it is a strong tribute to his high moral character, his genuine and unaffected Christian belief, and his undaunted courage, that the opponents of his appointment to Exeter were so soon won over, and that after singu-

larly happy years in Devonshire, he became profoundly revered by the whole Church, both as Bishop of London and Archbishop of Canterbury. One of his last acts was to crown King Edward VII.

Mandell Creighton, Fellow and Tutor of Merton, Oxford, and a brilliant historical scholar, had been Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Cambridge, and had honorary degrees from Oxford, Cambridge, Durham, Dublin, Harvard, besides other like distinctions. He was Professor of Ancient Literature at the Royal Academy, Canon of Worcester, Canon of Windsor, and, in 1891, became Bishop of Peterborough. He wrote many important books, but his great work was the *History of the Papacy during the Period of the Reformation*. His brilliant conversation, bright and caustic humour, and appreciation of the many-sided aspects of modern life, brought him great influence with men of every class. He was unfailingly ready both as a speaker and preacher. Though he was the first Bishop to introduce a mitre into St. Paul's since the Reformation, nobody could accuse him of partisanship in Church politics. He was Bishop of London from 1897-1901; and his influence was becoming so great that his premature death was felt to be a universal loss.

The present Bishop of London (*Arthur Foley Winnington-Ingram*, Bishop of Stepney and Canon of St. Paul's) was brought into the See by that unprecedented wave of popularity and affection which has only increased in volume with the years.

On January 9, 1806, in the time of Dean Pretyman, were deposited in St. Paul's the remains of Nelson, the greatest of naval heroes. The funeral of Nelson created quite as great an impression at the time as that of Wellington forty-six years afterwards. "The Cathedral opened wide her doors to receive the remains of the great admiral, followed, it might almost be said, by the whole nation as mourners. The death of Nelson in the hour of victory, of Nelson, whose victories of Aboukir and

Copenhagen had raised his name above any other in our naval history, had stirred the English heart to its depths, its depths of pride and sorrow. The manifest result of that splendid victory at Trafalgar was the annihilation of the fleets of France and Spain, and it might seem the absolute conquest of the ocean, held for many years as a subject province of Great Britain. The procession, first by water, then by land, was, of course, magnificent, as far as generous cost could command magnificence.

"The body was preceded to St. Paul's by all that was noble and distinguished in the land; more immediately by all the Princes of the Blood, headed by the Prince of Wales (afterwards George IV.). The chief mourner was Admiral of the Fleet Sir Peter Parker.

"The place of interment was under the centre of the dome. As a youth I was present, and remember the solemn effect of the sinking of the coffin. I heard, or fancied that I heard, the low wail of the sailors who bore and encircled the remains of the admiral.

"By a singular chance, the body of Nelson is deposited (beneath) a sarcophagus in which Cardinal Wolsey expected to repose."¹ It has been conclusively proved by Alfred Higgins, F.S.A., in a paper read at the annual meeting of the Archæological Institute, in 1893, that this tomb was not, as alleged, by the Italian sculptor Torregiano, but by Benedetto da Rovezzano, also a Florentine sculptor. The same writer gives an account of how it was utilized for a monument to Henry VIII. by having a brass figure of that king placed on the top. The figure remained there until Windsor Castle was taken by Oliver Cromwell, and it was melted down to contribute to the pay of his soldiers. Again it became tenantless. When George III. was preparing to make Wolsey's

¹ Milman's *Annals*, p. 484.

Chapel a burial-place for the royal family, in reference to the fact that Westminster Abbey was becoming overcrowded, having more than two thousand bodies below its floor, it became a question what was to be done with the monument of Cardinal Wolsey and Henry VIII. It is probable that Wyatt, the architect of the Castle, suggested it as fit to surmount the coffin of Nelson. So it commemorates three incongruous notabilities: Cardinal Wolsey, Henry VIII. and the Great Captain.

Besides Dr. Pretyma-Tomline, there were in the nineteenth century seven Deans of St. Paul's: William Van Mildert, Charles Richard Sumner, Edward Coplestone, Henry Hart Milman, Henry Longueville Mansel, Richard William Church and Robert Gregory.

William Van Mildert (1820-6) was Rector of St. Mary-le-Bow, Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's and, in 1819, Bishop of Llandaff. He held the Bishopric with the Deanery until, in 1826, he was made Bishop of Durham. He was the founder of the University of Durham, surrendering the historic castle for that purpose, and reserving a suite of rooms for the Bishop. It had been the duty of the Bishops of Durham, as Palatines of the county, to keep hounds for the laity; he was the last who complied with this custom.

Charles Richard Sumner (1826-7) was also Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's and Bishop of Llandaff. He had been tutor in the family of the Marquess Conyngham in the time of the Prince Regent, was brother of Archbishop Sumner of Canterbury, father of the Bishop of Guildford, and grandfather of the Bishop of Gloucester. After a year at the Deanery, he became Bishop of Winchester.

Edward Coplestone (1827-49) was well known at Oxford as Provost of Oriel, Vicar of St. Mary's (the university church) and Professor of Poetry. Like his two predecessors, he was Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's and Bishop of Llandaff.

Henry Hart Milman (1849-68), to whose admirable *Annals of St. Paul's* this lesser volume is so greatly indebted, the eminent Church historian, was the youngest son of Sir Francis Milman, Bart., Physician to George III. After being Rector of St. Margaret's, Westminster, and Canon of the Abbey, he became one of the most notable of the Deans of St. Paul's. His *History of Latin Christianity* and *History of the Jews* have given him a permanent place in English literature. Master of a massive and eloquent prose style, he was also no mean poet, and enriched English hymnody with the well-known lyrics, "O help us, Lord, each hour of need," "Ride on, ride on in majesty" and "When our heads are bowed with woe." It was in his time that schemes were first mooted for the decoration of St. Paul's.

In Dean Milman's time took place the ever-memorable funeral of the Duke of Wellington. I must quote the account of the Dean himself: "In the Cathedral, time had not been allowed to carry out the design as proposed by the authorities. The interior was to have been entirely dark, except from artificial light, lines of which were to trace out all the lines of the architecture. This was thought far more impressive than the dull, dubious light of a November day. But the daylight was, from haste, but imperfectly excluded, and the solemn effect of illuminating the whole building, with every arch, and the dome in its majestic circle, was in some degree marred. So ill indeed had the time been measured, that on the morning of the funeral hundreds of workmen had to be dismissed from the Cathedral.

"Yet the scene under the dome (for under the dome was the ceremony to take place) was in the highest degree imposing. The two Houses of Parliament assembled in full numbers: on the north side of the area the House of Commons, behind these the civic authorities, the City com-

panies and the members of the Corporation: on the south side of the area the peers, behind them the clergy of the Cathedral and their friends. The foreign ambassadors sat on seats extending (from the entrance of the choir) to the organ gallery (across the chancel). Every arcade, every available space, was crowded; from 12,000 to 15,000 persons (it was difficult closely to calculate) were present. The body was received by the Bishop, and the Dean, and the clergy, with the choir, at the west door, and conducted to the central area under the dome, on which shone down the graceful coronal of light which enriched it under the Whispering Gallery. The pall was borne by eight of the most distinguished general officers who had survived the wars of their great commander, or other glorious wars in which their country had been engaged.

"The chief mourner was, of course, the Duke of Wellington, with the Prince Consort, and others of the Royal Family.

"The service was the simple burial office of the Church of England, with the fine music of Croft and Purcell wedded to that office, and other music, including an anthem of a very high order, composed by the organist, Mr. Goss.

"The prayers and lesson were read by the Dean. . . . Nothing could be imagined more solemn than the responses of all the thousands present, who repeated, as had been suggested, the words of the Lord's Prayer. It fulfilled the sublime Biblical phrase, 'Like the roar of many waters'; only that it was clear and distinct: the sad combined prayer, as it were, of the whole nation.

"The gradual disappearance of the coffin, as it slowly sank into the vault below, was a sight which will hardly pass from the memory of those who witnessed it.

"The sarcophagus which, after some time, was prepared to receive the remains of Wellington, was in perfect character with that great man. A mass

of Cornish porphyry (weighing 17 tons) wrought in the severest and simplest style, unadorned, and because unadorned more grand and impressive; in its grave splendour, and, it might seem, time-defying solidity, it is emblematic of him who, unlike most great men, the more he is revealed to posterity, shows more substantial, unboastful, unquestionable greatness."¹

Henry Longueville Mansel (1868-71), the keenest metaphysician of his time, came from St. John's College, Oxford, and was Professor of Moral Philosophy and Ecclesiastical History. He was a disciple of Sir William Hamilton and the Scottish School, and was best known by his *Prolegomena Logica*, *Philosophy of Kant*, *Metaphysics*, and *Limits of Religious Thought* (Bampton Lectures). His wit was also famous; his satirical poem, "Phrontisterion," on modern German philosophy was keenly appreciated, and his squibs were circulated through the University. One may be quoted on a change in the method of conferring the degree of Doctor of Divinity, according to which two theological papers were to be submitted in future by the candidate—

"The degree of D.D.

We propose to convey

On an A double S,

For a double Es-say."

Richard William Church (1871-90), Fellow of Oriel, was one of the Tractarian writers, and in the very front rank of the intellectual men of his day. His literary taste and knowledge, purity of style, keen critical faculty and exalted Christian character gave him great ascendancy over the clergy, and attracted to him the friendship of the foremost men of the day. Of a singularly retiring disposition, he was contented for eighteen years (1853-71) to be rector of the small village of Whatley, in Somersetshire, preaching to rustics. As Dean, he suffered a good deal from weak health, and left

¹ Milman's *Annals*, p. 492.

much of the business of the Cathedral to Canon Gregory, his successor, who was treasurer to the Chapter. His *Sermons and Essays* gave him a high place in the literature of the nineteenth century. He was supported by a very able Chapter, which besides Canon Gregory, included at different times Lightfoot (afterwards Bishop of Durham), Stubbs (afterwards Bishop of Oxford), Liddon, Henry Scott Holland and Archdeacon Gifford (formerly Headmaster of Birmingham School, at which had been educated three of the greatest of modern prelates: Benson, Lightfoot and Westcott).

In Dean Church's time occurred the great national thanksgiving service for the recovery of the Prince of Wales (afterwards King Edward VII.) from his almost fatal attack of typhoid fever. I take the account from the notes of the famous verger, Robert Green, who began his service on the day of the funeral of the Duke of Wellington: "1872, Monday, February 5.—Preparations for the Thanksgiving Service began, on the recovery of the Prince of Wales from his serious illness; the Cathedral closed to visitors on the 7th; the services discontinued (except the 8.0 a.m. service in the N.W. chapel, and one service on week-days and two services on Sunday (11.0 a.m. and 3.15 p.m.) at Christ Church, Newgate Street). The special Sunday evening services were discontinued. Sunday, February 11.—The Fire Brigade on duty at the Cathedral during the Thanksgiving preparations. Tuesday, February 27.—Thanksgiving Service. The Queen and most of the members of the Royal Family attended. A pew was erected just under the great arch towards the nave. The Dean (Church) received Her Majesty at the west entrance. The day was fine, but cold." The sermon was preached by Archbishop Tait on Family Life. "Wednesday afternoon, February 28.—The Cathedral open to the public to view the fittings: great crowds present. On the 29th, and March 1

and 2, the Cathedral was open to special visitors by cards from the Dean: great crowds attended."

To Dean Church and his earlier colleagues, on the initiative chiefly of the great reformer Canon Gregory (who became Dean in 1890), the alterations in St. Paul's are owing, which have changed it from a condition of motionless decorum into the most active centre of religious life in England.

I have an amusing paper before me in *All the Year Round*, of April 4, 1868, by my old friend Joseph Parkinson, a collaborateur of Charles Dickens, who died last year (1908). "'You'll find it horribly dirty,' exclaimed the friend I met on Ludgate Hill, in reply to the intelligence that I was about to go over St. Paul's for the first time. 'Horribly dirty,' I repeated to myself. 'Is *that* all the creatures can find to say concerning Wren's masterpiece?' But, having now been from crypt to ball, and round galleries, and about nave, dirt and neglect are, I find, the most prominent characteristics of the handsomest edifice of the wealthiest city of the world. The most prominent fact connected with an inspection of the monuments is their filth. Dust which is black in its thickness rests undisturbed upon the handiwork of Chantrey and Flaxman, converting classic groups into piebald monstrosities, turning white black, and reading a bitter lesson of neglect and indifference to the looker-on. It would be ludicrous if it were not sad to note the strange metamorphoses effected by simple dirt. Black angels are conveying Ethiopian heroes to their long rest. Smutty-faced Britannias vie with much-besoiled Glories and Fames in doing honour to English worthies to whom soap and a scrubbing-brush are a first necessity. . . . A few amateur cleaners might relieve the City of London of a grave scandal and reproach by giving up an hour once a month to the Cathedral. . . . Surely in these days of voluntary effort, it would not be difficult to organize a little

staff of Churchmen who would each undertake to keep a statue clean; or if this were too much labour, who would take a leg or an arm, or a cherub or an animal under his individual care. Few tasks would be more immediately effective, and I beg to throw out, as a suggestion to the gentlemen of London, that an amateur cleaning society be formed for the restoration of the statues of St. Paul's."

In that very year, 1868, Gregory was appointed Canon, and the reforms began. The appointment was not popular with the Chapter, who suspected energy. Before his time the members of the choir were most irregular in their attendance. Like the Minor Canons, the Vicars-Choral were an independent college. Sometimes the daily attendance was very scanty, and it was difficult to perform the music. There is a legend that on one occasion, when the "Hallelujah Chorus" was to be sung, a message was sent up to Sir John Goss, the organist, that there was only one tenor and one bass. "Do your best," he replied, "and I will do the rest with the organ." The choirmen used to straggle in with the procession, and sometimes led their children by the hand. One day the storm broke. Gregory was canon-in-residence, and after evensong he addressed to the choir a severe and peremptory exhortation. The older choirmen flew to the newspaper offices, and the evening papers had large headings on their placards: "Scene in St. Paul's." Gregory persisted, and instituted a system of fines for non-attendance and unpunctuality, reviving the old Saturday Chapter for Discipline. One of the senior choirmen remonstrated. "My dear sir," replied the determined reformer, "if you were to die on the steps of the Cathedral on your way to attend the service, I should fine your widow for your non-appearance." Gradually opposition quailed before such stern resolution. The attendance of the choir soon became as regular as clockwork. The College

of Minor Canons and the College of Vicars-choral, while retaining certain rights, were both subjected to the authority of the Chapter. A system of regular washing and dusting was begun, and perfected as the years went on, till St. Paul's, although daily thronged by thousands of visitors, has become a model of cleanliness. A large body of workmen were engaged, and a foreman of works appointed, who should always be engaged in the duties of renovation and ablution. In 1871 came the time for commuting the estates of the Cathedral, and here again the businesslike head and firm hand of Gregory were of the greatest importance in calculating and weighing with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners the claims of the various interests concerned in the vast machinery of St. Paul's. The composition was thought to be on the whole on a liberal scale; but as the fabric fund was to be chiefly drawn from King Ethelbert's estates in Essex, and these have since fallen to half their value, the allowance made for repairs has proved wholly insufficient. Nothing like enough, again, was granted for fire insurance, which as St. Paul's is surrounded by vast warehouses, has become a matter of great importance. The Chapter have lately increased their premiums on a large scale.

The reforms in the music of St. Paul's date from the appointment of Dr. Stainer in 1872. The reconstruction of the choir was no less necessary than that of the organ; and every change was carried out by that admirable musician and devout Churchman with consummate tact, good humour, courage and firmness. He could do anything he liked with the choir. The splendid choral midday celebration, for which St. Paul's has become famous, was introduced. Festival services and oratorios, with full orchestral accompaniments, became part of the regular routine: Bach's *Passion-music*, Spohr's *Last Judgment*, Mendelssohn's *St. Paul* and *Elijah* were regularly heard. A choir school was built for the

boys, and the numbers increased: and much is due to the care of the successive masters, Barff, Russell, Morgan-Brown. From 1871 to 1888, when he resigned on account of failing eyesight, Stainer was an ideal coadjutor of the reforming Chapter in the development of the musical forces of St. Paul's.

The revival of the preaching reputation of the Cathedral is owing to the illustrious Liddon (1870-90). Who can forget those unprecedented and unrivalled congregations, when the nave was full, and men stood in serried ranks round the dome, with the huge figure of Ruthven Pym and other wardsmen keeping order? that high silvery tenor voice, ringing in impassioned tones through every corner of the building? the sustained logical eloquence, the glowing faith, the wide reading, the familiarity with every phase of philosophy and science, the reminiscence of the classical eloquence of the great French preachers of the eighteenth century, the atmosphere of culture, distinction and extraordinary personal charm? The sermons were long, sometimes more than an hour, but none of the audience was sensible to the flight of time. Liddon was an incomparable factor in the revival of St. Paul's.

CHAPTER XXIV

ST. PAUL'S IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

1900

NEARLY ten years have passed since, in Nov. 1899, our careful annalist, Robert Green, retired from the service of the Chapter. Many important events have happened since then. The winter was very gloomy from the want of success attending our arms at the opening of the Boer campaign, and the close investment of Kimberley, Ladysmith and Mafeking. The country was summoned to furnish fresh troops, and responded with enthusiasm. Lord Mayor Newton inaugurated the City Imperial Volunteers; two farewell services of the most impressive character were held for them in the Cathedral, the first in the week ending Jan. 13th, the second on Friday the 19th. At the first the farewell address was given by the Dean, at the second by Bishop Creighton: the latter was attended by the Duke of Connaught and other army chiefs. A special Service of Intercession for God's blessing on the British cause was held on the morning of Septuagesima Sunday. On Thursday evening, March 1st, the bells were rung for the news of the Relief of Ladysmith; thanksgiving was offered on the Sunday afternoon following. The Relief of Mafeking took place on May 17th: a special *Te Deum* was sung for it.

On Saturday, June 16th, was commemorated the bi-centenary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel: the sermon was preached by one of the most eloquent and beloved of the American Bishops, Dr. Doane of Albany. On Saturday, August 4th, a Memorial Service was held for the Duke of Saxe-Coburg; the choristers being absent

on holiday their places were taken by the boys of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge.

A Thanksgiving Service for the return of the City Imperial Volunteers was held on Monday, Oct. 29th. Although the march from the railway-station through the streets was of a difficult character, owing to the uncontrollable and unrestrained enthusiasm of the crowd, the service was most orderly and impressive. Fifteen hundred of the regiment were present; many touching scenes of reunion took place at the conclusion.

On Nov. 27th, the remains of Sir Arthur Sullivan were buried in St. Paul's; the company of the Savoy Theatre sang "Yea, though I walk through the Valley of the Shadow of Death," from his oratorio, *The Light of the World*.

On Dec. 19th a service was held in memory of those who had fallen in the South African war during the year. It was repeated on Dec. 16th, at the end of 1901. Special services were held on Dec. 13th, 1900, and Jan. 1, 1901, for the close of the nineteenth century, and the opening of the twentieth.

1901

The funeral of Bishop Creighton took place on Thursday, Jan. 17th, in the Cathedral. The body was received on Wednesday at 6.30, with a short office, and lay in the centre of the choir with the Duke of Wellington's candelabra round it, properly attended. The remains were buried east of those of Dean Milman, in front of the altar of the crypt.

Queen Victoria died on Tuesday, Jan. 22nd. On the day following, Wednesday, Jan. 23rd, a short form of mourning character was used after morning prayer, and a long form in the afternoon. On the days following, until the funeral, the shorter form was said after evening prayer; and music of a penitential type was used throughout the services. St. Paul's Day happening to occur in the interval,

the Dedication Festival was postponed to Friday, Feb. 8th, Jan. 25th being treated as a ferial day, with only the recitation of the collect to mark it. Every day the Cathedral was crowded by worshippers, all in mourning. On Saturday, the day of the Funeral Service at Windsor, matins were said after eight o'clock Celebration in the crypt, and the Cathedral closed till the solemn Memorial Service at 3 p.m., the hour of burial. On the Sunday morning after the Queen's death the police estimated that 30,000 were unable to obtain entrance to St. Paul's, as it was already full. Many of them went to the neighbouring churches.

At the end of February a Quiet Day was held in the Cathedral for the clergy of the diocese by Bishop Gott of Truro, and was attended by about three hundred.

On March 7th, the Bishop of Stepney, Canon and Treasurer of St. Paul's, was appointed Bishop of London, to the great pleasure of his colleagues in the Chapter. On March 17th, a new Palestrina service ("Assumpta") was sung at Holy Communion. There are now four of these exquisite settings in use.

On Saturday, April 27th, the Rev. Cosmo Gordon Lang, Vicar of Portsea, was installed as Canon at evensong in place of the Bishop of London. On April 30th the Bishop of London was enthroned at 10 a.m., and received the oath of obedience, from the Chapter in the S.W. Chapel. Canon Lang was consecrated Bishop of Stepney on May 1st.

On Thursday, June 11th, at 3 p.m., 800 of the Royal Fusiliers attended a Thanksgiving Service: the Lord Mayor present.

During the week ending July 6th, the Moorish Embassy visited the Cathedral.

On Tuesday, August 6th, news was received of the death of the Emperor Frederick of Germany. The old State Bell was tolled, a special anthem was sung, and the *Dead March* in Saul played on the

organ. On Tuesday, Aug. 13th, being the occasion of the Emperor's funeral, the bell was tolled from twelve to one o'clock; a special anthem was appointed for evensong, and the *Dead March* again played.

On Thursday evening, Nov. 7th, a great service of working-men was held, when the Bishop of London preached.—Saturday, Nov. 9th, being Lord Mayor's Day, a vast crowd was present, and Handel's Coronation Anthem was sung. Prayers were offered for the first time for George, Prince of Wales, under that title. On Sunday morning, the 10th, the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, Prince Arthur and Princess Margaret were present at Holy Communion.

On Saturday, Nov. 23rd, it was agreed that the font might be removed from the S.W. Chapel to some other part, having not long been placed on that site, and also the Hessey window to another space in order that the chapel may be given to the Order of St. Michael and St. George. But that requires a separate account. The font now looks exceedingly well in the west aisle of the south transept; the window in the west aisle of the north transept, whither also the Consistory Court has been moved, with the kind concurrence of the Chancellor of the Diocese, Dr. Tristram.

1902

On Feb. 19th Sir E. J. Poynter, P.R.A., unveiled the beautiful Leighton Memorial (by Thomas Brock, R.A.); most of the Royal Academy were present.

During Holy Week (March 24th-29th) there were great congregations present at midday to hear the Bishop of London's addresses, especially during the Three Hours on Good Friday. On Easter Eve, March 29th, the chancel was lighted for the first

time by electricity; this, and the supply for the whole Cathedral, were the gift of Mr. Pierpont Morgan, the well-known American financier and Churchman, at a cost of £17,000.

On Thursday, April 10th, at 2.30 p.m., by special request was held a Memorial Service for the Right Hon. Cecil Rhodes, the South African statesman and patriot; there were present a representative of the King, several members of the Government, and a very large congregation.

On Wednesday, April 16th, at 5.30 p.m., was held a Farewell Service for the scholars of Christ's Hospital, now leaving London for their new buildings in Sussex. The sermon was preached by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

On Sunday, June 8th, at 10.30 a.m., there was a special thanksgiving for the restoration of peace after the South African war. The King and Queen, the Prince and Princess of Wales, many members of the Royal Family, and a congregation representative of all that was greatest in the nation. The Bishop of London preached.

On Thursday, June 26th, which was to have been the day of the coronation, was held, at 12 noon, a special service of humble supplication to Almighty God for the recovery of King Edward VII. from his sickness. It was attended by many members of the Royal Family, Indian Rajahs and Nawâbs, the High-Priest of the Sikhs, some Colonial troops, and a large number of American and Colonial guests. The same service was used on Sunday morning, the 29th; the afternoon and evening services were also thronged. During the week (June 30th-July 5th) "O God, save the King," was sung before the prayer for all sorts and conditions of men, followed by a prayer from the Visitation Service. On Tuesday the King was pronounced out of immediate danger, and the extra service of intercession was dropped; on Saturday he was pronounced out of danger altogether, and

the extra collect was discontinued. Large numbers came to the Cathedral all the week.

On Saturday, August 9th, the King and Queen were crowned at Westminster, the choir of St. Paul's took part in the service, and the Dean and Chapter occupied a gallery at the corner of the choir and north transept, close to the throne. On Sunday, August 10th, at 10.30 a.m., a Service of Thanksgiving was held in St. Paul's for the coronation; the sermon was preached by the Bishop of London.

The following special prayer was used both at this service and at that for the recovery—

“O Lord God of our fathers, Who in Thy goodness hast led this people hitherto by wondrous ways: Who makest the nations to praise Thee, and knittest them together in the bands of peace; we beseech Thee to pour Thine abundant blessing on the dominions over which Thou hast called Thy servant Edward to be King. Grant that one and all, of whatever race or colour or tongue, may draw together in heart and will beneath the shelter of the throne, united in the bond of brotherhood, in the ways of welfare and peace, and in the one fellowship of the Faith, so that we may be found a people acceptable unto Thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.”

On Wednesday, September 24th, at 3 p.m., was held a Thanksgiving Service for the return of the 24th Imperial Yeomanry.

On Sunday, October 26th, took place the Thanksgiving Service for the King's recovery, which was attended by their Majesties, the Prince of Wales, and most members of the Royal Family. The King, Queen and Royal Family were placed in the sacrum, where they could hardly be seen; it would also have been better if, as in the Royal Thanksgiving of 1871, the whole space had been allotted by ticket, in order to save disappointment

202 MEMORIALS OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL

both within and without, and to lighten the labours and responsibilities of the police. There was an immense throng, and the service was one of great beauty.

On Saturday, Dec. 27th, at 12 noon, a Memorial Service was held for the late Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Temple) at the hour of the funeral at Canterbury.

1903.

At the close of February a monument by Alfred Gilbert, R.A., was unveiled to Lord Lytton, late Governor-General of India. On Friday, March 20th, the monument of F.-M. Sir Sam. Browne, Commander-in-Chief in India, was unveiled by Lord Roberts.

In July, the plaster sketch, left by Alfred Stevens, of an equestrian statue of the Duke of Wellington was offered to view on the top of the Wellington monument. It was agreed that it was so crude as to be impossible, and the sculptor, Mr. Tweed, was authorized to prepare a finished model from the sketch, to be finally approved by the Chapter. It is now completed and in position.

On Friday, December 11th, a memorial bronze of Sir Walter Besant was unveiled in the crypt.

1904.

On Sunday morning, March 6th, was held a Centenary Service for the Bible Society, at 11 a.m., Holy Communion having been celebrated at 9.45 a.m., preceded by morning prayer and Litany. The King was unable to come, through a feverish cold: the Queen was present with the Prince and Princess of Wales and the Princess Victoria.

On Wednesday, March 23rd, the remains of Mrs. Gregory, wife of the Dean, were buried in the crypt beside the grave of Dean Milman. She died on March 19th, after a very short illness.

On Thursday, May 5th, the 1300th Anniversary of Mellitus, the first Bishop of the Anglo-Saxons in London, and one of Pope Gregory's mission from Rome for their conversion, was observed at 8 p.m. by a service consisting of Litany, sermon and *Te Deum*, accompanied by an orchestra.

On Thursday, July 7th, a Memorial Service was held for the late G. F. Watts, R.A., at which all the members of the Royal Academy were present, and a great congregation of distinguished persons.

On Friday, July 15th, the Cathedral was visited by a large number of French workmen in the morning, and by the Atlantic Union in the afternoon.

On Friday, July 22nd, at 11 a.m., General Sir F. Stephenson unveiled a monument to the Coldstream Guards who fell in South Africa. Many distinguished officers were present, 400 of the men and the band, which played Sullivan's *In Memoriam* and the *Dead March*. The buglers gave the "Last Post" from the east end, with pathetic effect.

On July 25th, the Dean's son was consecrated Bishop of Mauritius.

1905.

March. This year, for the first time, the beautiful *Miserere* of Allégri (first taken down by Mozart, when a boy, from the singing at St. Peter's at Rome) was sung after evensong on Fridays in Lent; to be continued in future years. It has always been appreciated by a large congregation.

On Wednesday, May 24th, the Prince of Wales unveiled a beautiful memorial to 4,200 Colonial volunteers who fell in the South African campaign. The sculpture was modelled by H.R.H. Princess Louise (Duchess of Argyll) and represents the Angel of Sympathy receiving the dead body of Christ on the Cross as the emblem of Self-sacrifice.

On Saturday, July 1st, was unveiled the monument of Bishop Creighton by the Archbishop of

Canterbury, in the presence of the Bishop of London and a large congregation. It is an upright bronze figure, with cope and crozier, by Thornycroft, in the south aisle of the choir.

On Sunday, July 2nd, T.R.H. the Prince and Princess Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden with the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, attended Holy Communion.

On Wednesday, July 5th, at 5 p.m., a Memorial Service for the late John Hay, American Secretary of State, was held at the request of the Americans, at which about 2,000 of them were present, with the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, and many members of both Houses of Parliament.¹

On Sunday morning, July 23rd, the Royal Institute of National Health attended, and the Bishop of London preached.

On Tuesday, November 14th, the funeral of Sir George Williams took place at 12 noon; a great citizen, who had received the freedom of the City and knighthood from Queen Victoria, in recognition of the fact that as founder and sixty-one years President of the Young Men's Christian Association, he was the greatest benefactor to young men

¹ The following special collect was used :—

“Almighty God, Who hast made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth; Who dost exalt every people that loveth righteousness, and hast blessed them that make for peace; we humbly thank Thee for all the goodwill and kindness that bind together those who, though of different dominions, are one in language, in faith, and in many gifts of Thy Providence. We praise Thee for all those who have worked for a common understanding, and for the increase of godly union and concord. And we beseech Thee that there may never be wanting among our peoples men of wisdom and power to guide our hearts, minds and counsels in the true way, for the good of men and for the increase of Thy Kingdom throughout the world: through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.”

of his day. At the time of his death the society had more than 500,000 members, in every civilised country. "Man that is born of a woman" was sung to Purcell's music; Purcell's trombone music was also played. The whole cathedral was full of young men from every part of the country, and the singing of "The Saints of God" was magnificent. The service was taken by the Dean and the Archdeacon.

On Thursday, November 30th, St. Andrew's Day, the Litany was sung in procession in intercession for missions, the disturbed state of Russia, and the unemployed. The Bishop of London preached.

1906.

On June 12th, the Chapel of St. Michael and St. George was dedicated by the Prelate of the Order (Bishop Montgomerie) in the presence of the Sovereign of the Order (King Edward VII.), the Grand Master (The Prince of Wales), the Chancellor (the Duke of Argyll), and all the Grand Crosses, Knights and Companions who could attend, wearing robes (dark blue satin, lined with crimson satin, with white satin shoulder-knots and gold chains), uniforms and decorations. The dedicatory prayer was said in the chapel, and the rest of the service in the choir. A more beautiful and impressive scene has rarely been witnessed in St. Paul's. The fittings and decoration of the chapel were carried out under the direction of Mr. Somers Clarke, architect to the Cathedral. In future, on Saints' days, at morning and evening prayer, remembrance was to be made of the Order before the prayer for the King, in these words—*Priest*: O Lord, save the king. *Answer*: And the most distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George.

On Tuesday, June 15th, a Memorial Service was held for the late Right Hon. John Seddon, Prime Minister of New Zealand.

On Tuesday, July 10th, at the request of Lord Strathcona, Agent-General for Canada, a Memorial Service was held for the Canadians and Americans (some twenty-seven) who perished in the terrible railway disaster which befell the Plymouth boat train at Salisbury. The Agent-General and the American Ambassador were present, with the Lord Mayor and a very large congregation.

On Thursday, July 26th, a Memorial Service was held in the Chapel of St. Michael and St. George for the late Sir Walter Buller, K.C.M.G., a New Zealand notability, at the request of the Colonial Office and the Chancery of the Order.

On Thursday morning, Oct. 25th, the Duke of Connaught unveiled the monument in the crypt to F.-M. Sir Lintorn Simmons, Commander-in-Chief of the Royal Engineers.

On Friday, Nov. 16th, at 2 p.m., a Memorial Service was held for a famous schoolmistress, Miss Dorothea Beale, Head of the Ladies' College at Cheltenham, with a very large attendance.

On Wednesday, Nov. 22nd, the Company of Musicians attended evensong, it being their anniversary festival, St. Cecilia's Day. "Let the bright Seraphim" was sung; there was a large congregation, and a very impressive service. This visit is repeated annually.

1907.

On Saturday, March 9th, the Queen and the Empress Marie of Russia visited the Cathedral, and were shown round by the Archdeacon (Canon-in-Residence).

On Tuesday evening, July 2nd, was held the Jubilee Service of the London Diocesan Home Mission (which through the legacy of £120,000 made by Miss Fussell, has been able to create about 75 new parishes; the Bishop of Bristol, a former secretary, was preacher. The choir numbered 1,000, the

churchwardens over 80, the clergy over 60! the Bishop of London was present.

On Friday, July 11th, the Dean and his family returned thanks for his recovery from his long illness. On the same day Prince Bernadotte of Sweden, and over 80 of the heads of the Y.M.C.A. in all parts of the world, laid a wreath on the grave of Sir George Williams. On Monday the Cathedral was visited by the new "Great Archimandrite," Dr. Posadis. On Tuesday the bust of Henley the poet was unveiled by Lord Plymouth, George Wyndham and Henry Cust. Letters were read from Rodin the sculptor and George Meredith.

On Thursday, Nov. 14th, the Cathedral was visited by the Infanta Isabel of Spain and suite.

On Monday, Dec. 2nd, the Musicians' Company attended afternoon service in connection with St. Cecilia's Day, to dedicate a window in the north transept, given by their Master, Mr. Crews.

1908.

On Sunday morning, Feb. 9th, the King and Queen, accompanied by the Prince and Princess of Wales and Princess Victoria, were present at a Memorial Service for the King of Portugal and his son the Crown Prince, assassinated at Lisbon on Feb. 1st. Their Majesties were received at the south door by the Chapter, and conducted to the choir, where the King occupied the stall usually allotted to the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the Queen and Princess Victoria on his right, the Prince and Princess of Wales on his left. The Portuguese Minister also occupied a stall on the same side. The service was attended by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs and Common Council of London; by the mayors of the metropolitan boroughs, and by many members of the Government and their predecessors. The *Dead March* was played by the band of the Oxfordshire Light Infantry, of which

the late King of Portugal was colonel, and by twelve drums drawn from the Brigade of Guards. The Blessing was given by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

On April 30th the Annual Service for the Order of St. Michael and St. George was held in the Chapel of the Order. The Prince of Wales was present, and the Prelate (Bishop Montgomerie) preached.

On Wednesday, July 1st, the Maharajah-Premier of Nepaul visited the Cathedral, ascended the dome, and was greatly interested by everything.

On August 6th, at ten o'clock, the Lambeth Conference of Bishops held their great Thanksgiving Service at the Cathedral. It was a celebration of Holy Communion, the six Archbishops officiating, and only the Bishops communicating. A very effecting address was given by the Archbishop of Canterbury. During the summer months, the Bishops preached on Sundays at morning and evening service, and special week-day services were held during the Pan-Anglican Congress.

On Friday, Nov. 6th, the monument of Sir George Williams (by Sir George Frampton, R.A.) was unveiled in the crypt in the presence of a very large congregation, chiefly young men.

1909.

On Feb. 20 the concurrence of the City authorities was received for the erection of the new Paul's Cross (for which the late Mr. H. C. Richards, M.P., left £5,000) on the site of the Fountain in the Garden, the garden being under the superintendence of the City.

CHAPTER XXV

THE RICHMOND MOSAICS

WE have it on record by Sir Christopher Wren's son, in his *Parentalia*, or notes on his father's life and works, that when the structure of his great Cathedral of St. Paul was finished he sent for four artists from Italy to continue the completion of the design, by filling with mosaics the interior of the dome, and the spaces which he had left in the roofs of choir, nave, transepts and aisles, consisting of brick vaulting covered temporarily with plaster. But the Building Committee, which had been at work from first to last for more than thirty-seven years, and some of the older members of which had, of course, passed away, were tired of collecting money, and were not at all sure about the idea of mosaics. To the great architect's sorrow and disgust they refused to sanction the scheme, or to do anything more for St. Paul's, which Wren considered quite unfinished, and the Italian artists were countermanded.

There are many kinds of mosaics, but they may be roughly divided into two: the smooth work, where a polished surface is produced, and where the effect is intended to be pictorial, as in the modern Italian style, known chiefly in this country through the designs of Salviati; and the rough style, where the facets of the tesserae are placed for the most part at a slight angle to each other, and where the result aimed at is mainly jewel-like and decorative. These latter qualities are principally characteristic of the Byzantine period.

Sir William Richmond, K.C.B., R.A., was suggested to the St. Paul's Decoration Committee in March, 1891, as the best authority for the treat-

ment of the roof of the Cathedral, by Messrs. Bodley and Garner. These architects had already done a great deal for the decoration of St. Paul's. Since the great impetus in that direction was given in connection with the thanksgiving service for the recovery of the Prince of Wales from his dangerous illness a quarter of a century ago, they had raised the level of the choir, removed the organ screen, placed the organ in two blocks on each side of the entrance to the choir near the dome, removed the choir-stalls from the far east end and brought them to the very edge of the dome, erected a new platform for the altar considerably to the west of the apse, built the new marble reredos at a cost (with other work) of upwards of £17,000, and placed Tijou's exquisite ironwork gates in a new gilt-brass framework under the two great easternmost arches of the choir rendered vacant by the pushing of the stalls to the west. The question now arose, what was to be done to the walls, which were extremely dull and dirty, and to the roof. The advice of Mr. Richmond (as he then was) was in favour of mosaics, not only in the vacant spaces of the roof, but also in those of the upper walls; the vigorous cleaning and brightening of the walls and arches; and the touching of the stonework at salient points with gold and colour. Mr. Richmond also offered to give up almost the whole of his time for three years, at a very moderate stipend, to the production of designs and the superintendence of the work.

This offer was gladly accepted by the Decoration Committee, of which the Dean and Chapter form the permanent basis. Mr. Richmond, who had for many years studied the art of mosaic in every part of Italy and Sicily, at Constantinople, and other places where the Byzantine influence reigned, and who had a studio at Hammersmith surrounded by a spacious garden, built a new *atelier* of enormous height, so as to give something of the effect of

vast design seen at a considerable distance. The manufacture of the glass materials (the tessarae are all squares of glass specially prepared) was entrusted to Messrs. James and Harry Powell, partners in the well-known firm at Whitefriars which has existed for over 200 years, as well as the engagement of the workmen, who were to be all British. Thus the designer, the manufacturers and the artificers were all of home birth. The treatment of the stone was handed over to Messrs. MacMillan and Houghton. The Cathedral was fortunate in having on its permanent staff a clerk of the works, Mr. E. J. Harding, whose skill and care in designing and erecting from time to time the firm and admirable scaffolding which gave access, in the most difficult positions, to the various portions of the roof and walls, was of integral importance to the whole scheme, and ensured the whole body engaged in the work from even a single accident. Great numbers of people visited the scaffolding in the choir during the progress of the decoration, and they always found the platforms as firm as a drawing-room floor. Among them H.R.H. the Princess of Wales and the Princesses Victoria and Maud climbed without difficulty to the very highest parts and placed some of the tessarae in their position in the cement.

Mr. Richmond first submitted small coloured designs to the Decoration Committee, which from time to time gave the general effect of the various portions. When these were approved he had them enlarged to the exact scale of the space which they would occupy, with every line strongly marked, and then coloured according to the tones of the design and of the tessarae. Most of the several designs so enlarged were exhibited in position in the Cathedral so that their effect might be judged. The enlargement and colouring having been completed, the design was then transferred in pieces of suitable sizes to tracing paper, and handed to

the artificers for execution in the tessarae on the cement. The artificers pierced the pattern through the lines with a bradawl on a space of cement affixed to the brickwork of such a size as not to dry up and become hard before the day's work was finished. The cement was composed of putty, silica, pounded marble and various hard and durable substances.

Meantime the thick coloured glass had been prepared by Messrs. Powell for the tessarae. A large and convenient workshop was provided by the garret story of the aisles, above the vaulting of the roof, a wide and lofty space. Here all the materials were stored, and the tracings carried out. The glass appeared in flat cakes, about six or seven inches in length by four or five in breadth. These were separated into square inches, or whatever the required size of the tessarae might be, by boys manipulating a steel chopping machine. In 1394 about 150 tints were in use; at first the number was considerably larger. In 1896 those in general use were not more than about fifty. A considerable difference in tone was produced by some of the tessarae being produced in what is technically called "potmetal," prepared in a different way from the ordinary glass, having a richer and whiter appearance, and looking as if it was mixed with what water-colour artists call "body-colour."

The actual number of artificers engaged in placing the tessarae was nineteen; they were chiefly young men, artists in the employment of Messrs. Powell, and for the most part trained to this special work in Mr. Richmond's studio.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE ORDER OF ST. MICHAEL AND ST. GEORGE

A FEW words may be expected from me as to the history of the introduction of the Order of St. Michael and St. George into our south-west chapel.

Of the multitudes of interesting things that have occurred during the period of my service at St. Paul's Cathedral, few have given me greater pleasure than the installation of that Order, the Order of the Colonies and the Empire in St. Paul's Cathedral, the central church of the Imperial City.

The Order of St. Michael existed originally for the Ionian Islands, that of St. George for Malta. The two were united in 1818, and extended in 1868, and again in 1877, to be an Order for the British Colonies in general; "for the natural-born subjects of the Crown of the United Kingdom, as may have held or shall hold high and confidential offices within Her Majesty's Colonial possessions, or in reward for services to the Crown in relation to the foreign affairs of the Empire." It consists of the Sovereign, the Grand Master (at that time the Prince of Wales, afterwards the Duke of Connaught), the Prelate (always a Colonial Bishop), the Chancellor (the Duke of Argyll), several members of the Royal Family, 65 Grand Crosses, 200 Knight-commanders, 342 Companions, a Secretary, King of arms, Registrar and Officer of arms.

Some time before the year 1901 it occurred to me that, having a Prelate, it was a misfortune that the Order, so closely associated with imperial progress and unity, should have no religious centre; and if it should be found possible, St. Paul's, in the very middle of the religious life of the nation, would

furnish a fitting ecclesiastical home. The Dean and Chapter, after some reasonable scepticism and questioning, concurred. The Chancellor of the Order at that time was Sir Robert Herbert (a grandson of the first Earl of Carnarvon), who had been Premier of Queensland and Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, and was a man of sincerely religious mind. Having had the pleasure of knowing him for about twenty years, I submitted the proposal to his friendly judgment, and it was most favourably received. The difficulty of finding a suitable part of the Cathedral was considerable. The Wellington Chapel, or Consistory Court, had recently been cleared of the great Duke's monument, through the energy and liberality of Lord Leighton—it could not be seen in the chapel, and was always intended for one of the arches of the nave—but the font had been moved in instead, and the chapel had become, for the time, the baptistery; but at last the Chapter agreed to move the font to a far more appropriate site, the west aisle of the south transept. The formal resolution was dated November 23, 1901.

Sir Robert had undertaken to speak on the subject to the Queen, the Grand Master (the Duke of Cambridge), the Prince of Wales (King Edward VII.) and others, and the suggestion was received with favour. I need not quote all his letters to me, which were numerous, but I make one or two extracts—

“Nov. 20, '01.

“I am very glad to hear from you again on the subject of the south-west chapel, and the Order of St. Michael and St. George; and also to hear that Lord Beauchamp has been seized of the same idea. . . .

“The time for taking action has arrived, or is approaching: if only we can surmount or get rid of the one obstacle which has caused warm supporters

to draw back; I mean, of course, the font, but recently moved into the chapel, where it is incongruous in itself, and a grave impediment to such an adaptation as would meet the requirements of the Order. . . .

"We could make the S.-W. chapel a very beautiful shrine, lighted with electricity, and, with a translucent window, quite a glory of the Cathedral.

"Yours very truly,
"ROBERT G. W. HERBERT."

"Nov. 21, '01.

"I am greatly pleased and encouraged by your letter of to-day, and feel that the Dean and Chapter have shown great and very prompt consideration to the wishes of those who desire to see the south-west chapel adapted to the special uses of St. Michael and St. George.

"I must now rally my scattered forces, and organize a working committee of members of the Order, to get the subscriptions and general support of the members. . . .

"Yours very truly,
"ROBERT G. W. HERBERT."

"Jan. 8, 1902.

"I have written to-day to the Dean informing him that the King (as Sovereign) and the Duke of Cambridge (as Grand Master) of St. Michael and St. George, have heard with pleasure and approval that the south-west chapel has been placed at the disposal of the Order, and that the Duke has consented to be president of a Committee to consider the necessary financial and other arrangements.

"I did not fail to inform or remind them both that the Order is indebted to yourself, both for the original idea, and for valuable help in obtaining the concession.

"It is proposed that the Committee shall consist of the Officers of the Order, with a few others. I hope you will be willing to be a member of the Committee. . . .

"Yours very truly,
"ROBERT G. W. HERBERT."

"*Jan. 16, 1902.*

"The Duke of Cambridge (Grand Master) desires me to tell you that His Royal Highness will be obliged by your assisting him as a member of the Committee to consider the arrangements for installing the Order of St. Michael and St. George in the south-west chapel, and that the Committee will hold its first meeting at Gloucester House, at 5 p.m., on Tuesday next, the 21st inst., when I hope you will be able to attend.

"Could you meet me at the chapel at (say) 2.30 p.m. either on Saturday or Monday next, to consider what preliminary information we should lay before H.R.H. as to the potentialities of the chapel?

"Yours very truly,
"ROBERT G. W. HERBERT."

I recommended the committee to ask Mr. Somers Clarke, as architect to the Cathedral, to be their architect for carrying into effect the fitting up and adornment of the chapel. His designs for the panels of the roof, rich in gold, with moulded shields of the arms of the King, the Prince of Wales and Sir Robert Herbert, were much admired. He also made as much use of the space available for stalls and seats as was possible. The chapel, the only proper place to be found in the cathedral, is not large; on special occasions the great vestibule of the Cathedral, the vast space between the west doors and the actual nave is added; the chapel,

separated from this only by one of Grinling Gibbons's exquisite screens, forms at such a time a kind of inner sanctuary. Mrs. Hessey very kindly agreed that the window in memory of her husband, the late Archdeacon of Middlesex, should be moved to the north transept; and with great promptitude Sir Walter Wilkin, K.C.M.G., a recent Lord Mayor, gave a very light window in memory of the Duke of Cambridge (who had in the meantime died). The design, combining in outline the emblems of St. Michael and St. George, with cherubs, was by Mr. Somers Clarke. The stall of the Grand Master was given by the sons of the late Duke: Rear-Admiral Sir Adolphus FitzGeorge, K.C.V.O., Colonel Sir Augustus FitzGeorge, K.C.V.O., and Colonel FitzGeorge. The reredos was provided by Lord Strathcona. There were many other gifts, and a rich memorial volume was initiated, recording the names of donors, to be kept in a coffer under the window. At length, on June 12, 1906, the inaugural service took place, as has been already described, in the presence of the Sovereign, the Grand Master and a great company of the Order. The following prayer, written for the occasion, reflects, I think, the solemn feelings of that most beautiful ceremony—

“O Lord God Almighty, Everlasting Father, Who didst make unto Thyself a chosen people of the family of Abraham, and didst lead them forth by Thy holy angels into the promised land; Who in these latter days, of Thine infinite mercy and all-seeing wisdom, and not for any merit or worthiness of ours, didst take of our fathers when they were yet few and feeble upon the earth, and didst make of them a great nation, even as the sands of the seashore for multitude; Who hast replenished us with all the gifts of earth and sky and sea, and hast given unto us the corn and the wine and the oil, the gold and the silver and the precious gems;

Who hast made our sons to go forth from their country and their kindred and their father's house to bear the burden of government and dominion in many lands; And Who hast knit together peoples of many races and many regions into one great commonwealth of peace: For these Thy so great mercies and benefits we render unto Thee praise and thanks, and do magnify Thy glorious Name. And we beseech Thee to look in pity upon every failure of zeal and infirmity of purpose which have marred the task that Thou hast given us to do; Forgive the self-seeking and cupidity, the hardness and wickedness which have so often marred our opportunities and turned the gifts that Thou hast given us into dust and ashes; Make us to discern more clearly and to perform more faithfully what Thou wouldst have us to do; and as Thou hast been with our fathers before us, so Lord God of hosts, be with us yet. And grant, O Lord, that the course of this world may be so peaceably ordered by Thy governance, that Thy Church may joyfully serve Thee in all godly quietness; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*"

The sermon was preached by the Prelate, Bishop Montgomerie.

Every year, on St. George's Day, April 23, the Order assembles in the chapel, and commemorates the members who have died during the year, their names being recited by the secretary. Several memorial tablets to departed members have already been placed. The members can have their children baptized in the Cathedral, and places are reserved for them at the special services which are so marked a feature of the life of St. Paul's.

As the multitudes of visitors and worshippers who throng the Cathedral every day pass in at the west door, their thoughts are at once arrested by the august recess of the chapel, hung with richly embroidered banners, and splendid with carving

and colour. As they learn that this is the shrine of the knightly brotherhood who have devoted their lives to the service of the empire in Colonial lands, their hearts are reminded that they too owe a duty, each in his own sphere, to their country. "These are the men," said the Prelate, at the Dedication, "who have built up and defended the empire; they deserve all their honours. From many a land dark faces look gratefully towards them, mindful of their unselfish work, and their kind and sympathetic rule." Something of this feeling touches the crowds who come in day by day; and so the great stream of true patriotism is deepened by the outflow from that honoured corner of St. Paul's.¹

¹ It is interesting to note that the example of the Order of St. Michael and St. George has been followed by that of the Thistle, who have received the King's permission to provide themselves a chapel in Edinburgh. The late Lord Leven and Melville left £40,000 for the restoration of Holyrood Chapel. Nothing could have been easier, for no architecture could be simpler or more uniform than that of Holyrood. But adverse influences prevailed, the money was returned, and Holyrood is left exposed to the destructive blasts of the Forth. The present Lord Leven has given his share of the bequest (£23,000) for the purpose of providing a new Chapel for the Order of the Thistle (April 1909). In 1912 His Majesty revived the old annual religious service of the Knights of the Garter at St. George's Chapel, Windsor. The same year arrangements were made for the re-establishment of the Order of the Bath in Henry VII.'s Chapel, Westminster Abbey, with a yearly service.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE ORGANISTS OF ST. PAUL'S ¹

THE list of organists at St. Paul's is but short, for in early days the duty now assigned to one musician was then distributed amongst many: the Master of the Children, or Master of Song, and such gentlemen of the choir as were players, taking the duty of presiding at the organ. At Durham a monk played at nocturns and matins, and the *Master of the Song School* at High Mass and vespers.² At Hereford, in the fifteenth century, the organist was styled *Clerk of the Organs*. At St. Paul's, the Almoner was an important official who generally had charge of the boys, and he was not always the organist.

John Redford	-	-	(about)	1530
Thomas Gyles	-	-	-	1549
Thomas Morley	-	-	-	1591
John Tomkins	} Joint	-	-	{ 1622
Adrian Batten				{ 1624
Albertus Bryne	-	-	-	1638
Isaac Blackwell	-	-	-	1687
Jeremiah Clark	-	-	-	1699
Richard Brind	-	-	-	1707
Maurice Greene	-	-	-	1718
John Jones	-	-	-	1756
Thomas Attwood	-	-	-	1796
John Goss	-	-	-	1838
John Stainer	-	-	-	1872
George Clement Martin	-	-	-	1888

One of the earliest names of an organist of the Cathedral is that of *John Redford*, Organist,

¹ I am indebted in this chapter to Bumpus's *Organists and Composers of St. Paul's Cathedral*, 1891, and to Dr. Sparrow Simpson's *Gleanings from Old St. Paul's*, 1889.

² Walcott, *Sacred Archæology*: Organist.

Almoner and Master of the Choristers, between 1530 and 1540. His beautiful anthem, "Rejoice in the Lord alway," a good specimen of the writers of this sturdy period, is one of the examples in the First Volume of the Mottett Society. The name of Redford occurs in a contemporary poem by John Tusser ("The Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandrie,"), in which he mentions that, according to the custom of those days, he had been pressed to be a chorister at St. Paul's or the Chapel Royal. There is extant a warrant of Richard III. to that effect, addressed to one of the gentlemen of the Chapel Royal: and another of Queen Elizabeth's to Thomas Gyles, Redford's successor at St. Paul's, "to take up such apt and meet children as are most fit to be instructed and framed in the art and science of music and singing, as may be had and found out within any place of this our realm of England and Wales." John Tusser, in the poem, is giving his own experience, after his childhood at Wallingford—

"Thence, for my voice, I must (no choice)
 Away of force, like posting horse,
 For sundry men had placards then
 Such child to take:
 The better breast, the lesser rest,
 To serve the quire, now there, now here;
 For tyme so spent, I may repent,
 And sorrow make.

But mark the chance! myself to 'vance,
 By friendship's lot to Paul's I got;
 So found I grace a certain space
 Still to remain
 With Redford there, the like nowhere
 For cunning such and virtue much,
 By whom some part of music art
 So did I gain."

Thomas Mullinger, Master of the Cathedral School in the middle of the sixteenth century, had

some well-known pupils, amongst them (it is thought) Thomas Tallis, whose musical setting of the new English Prayer Book has helped the devotions of each generation to the present time. William Bird, a pupil of Tallis, born about 1538, was senior chorister at St. Paul's in 1554; he was an admirable Church composer, and to him is attributed the well-known grace, "Non Nobis Domine." In Queen Elizabeth's *Virginal Book* are nearly seventy of his compositions. He is said to have been the first Englishman who wrote a madrigal. He died in 1623. Mullinger was succeeded as almoner by Edward Pearce, one of whose most eminent pupils was Thomas Ravenscroft, who, in 1621, compiled *The Whole Book of Psalms*. No doubt many of those grand massive tunes were sung after sermon at Paul's Cross. Bishop Jewell, writing in 1560, to Peter Martyr, says: "You may now sometimes see at St. Paul's Cross, after the service, 6,000 persons, old and young, of both sexes, all singing together, and praising God."

Thomas Morley, born towards the middle of the sixteenth century, educated, as it is believed, in the choir of St. Paul's, and certainly a pupil of Bird, was organist in 1591, and probably some years before. His fame rests on his madrigals, and his collection *The Triumphs of Oriana*; his *Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music* long held its ground as a text-book, and was translated into several languages.

John Tomkins, son of Thomas Tomkins (organist to the King, and of Worcester Cathedral, composer of many anthems and services), was organist about 1621 or 1622, and was buried in the crypt. Dr. Hullah, in his *Lectures on Musical History*, reminds us that with the seventeenth century begins in England, as elsewhere, the transition period of music, marked not only by increasing skill in musical performance, but especially by continually increasing attention to the conformity of notes with

words, in fact, the diligent study of everything, which goes to perfect what is properly called *expression*.

Andrian Batten, who appears to have been joint-organist with Tomkins, was educated in the choir of Winchester Cathedral; became vicar-choral of Westminster Abbey; and organist and vicar-choral of St. Paul's in 1624. He also wrote a considerable amount of Church music, in the pure and solemn style of Tallis; and this is still in use at Westminster. He died in 1637.

Little is known of *Albertus Bryne*. He was a composer, and organist of St. Paul's about 1638; of Westminster Abbey and Dulwich College from 1671-77. In 1641 John Barnard, one of the Minor Canons of St. Paul's, published a "matchless and judicious collection of early Church music, called *The First Book of Selected Church Music*, consisting of such services and anthems as are now in use in the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches of the kingdom," and was dedicated to King Charles I. Another manual of this period was by another Minor Canon of St. Paul's, James Clifford: *A Collection of Divine Services and Anthems*.

Michael Wise, a well-known composer, was Almoner and Master of the Boys in 1686, and was followed by Dr. John Blow. At this time Wren's brother-in-law, the Rev. William Holder, D.D., one of the Residentiaries, was distinguished as a practical musician, and wrote a treatise on harmony. He was buried in St. Paul's in 1697.

Jeremiah Clark, educated in the Chapel Royal under Blow, became almoner in 1693, in succession to Blow, and organist and vicar-choral in 1699. He had previously been organist of Winchester Cathedral. Eight of his anthems are preserved: the best is considered to be "I will love Thee, O Lord," which abounds in deep pathos and dramatic force. "Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem," was written for the coronation of Queen Anne, and also performed

on one of her state visits to St. Paul's. In a fit of melancholy he destroyed himself in 1707.

Dr. John Blow, Almoner and Master of the Choristers in succession to Wise, was born in 1648, at North Collingham, Notts. Brought up in the King's Chapel, he quitted it at the Rebellion, and received a captain's commission in 1642; and succeeded Pelham Humphrey as Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal in 1674. He was Purcell's second master. In 1699 he became composer to the Chapel Royal; a second composer, John Weldon, was appointed in 1715; and it was required of each that he should produce a new anthem on the first Sunday of his month in waiting.¹ Blow died in 1708, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, where he had been made organist at the age of twenty-one. His degree was conferred by Archbishop Sancroft. Boyce praised "his success in cultivating an uncommon talent for modulation." The following story is related by Hawkins: "In the reign of King James II. an anthem of some Italian composer had been introduced into the Chapel, which the King liking very much, asked Blow if he could make one as good. Blow answered he could, and engaged to do it by the next Sunday, when he produced the anthem, 'I beheld, and lo! a great multitude.' When the service was over the King sent Father Petre to acquaint Blow that he was much pleased with it. 'But,' added Petre, 'I myself think it too long.' 'That,' answered Blow, 'is but the opinion of one fool, and I heed it not.' The Jesuit was so nettled at this expression of contempt, that he meditated revenge, and wrought so with the King that Blow was put under a suspension; which, however, he was freed from by the Revolution, which took place very shortly after."²

¹ Dr. Burney, *Hist. Music*, iii. 445-453, 454.

² Hawkins, *History*, 742.

Jeremiah Clark was succeeded as organist by *Richard Brind*, who had been educated in St. Paul's choir, was appointed in 1707, and died in 1718. His famous pupil, *Maurice Greene*, succeeded him. "Handel was very fond of St. Paul's organ, built by Father Smith, which was then almost a new instrument. Brind was at that time organist, and no very celebrated performer. The tone of the instrument delighted Handel (it is said also that he was attracted by the fact that it possessed a set of pedals, at this time quite a rarity in English organs), and a little entreaty was at any time sufficient to prevail upon him to touch it; but after he had ascended the organ-loft, it was with reluctance that he left it; and he has been known after evening service to play to an audience as great as ever filled the choir. After his performance was over, it was his practice to adjourn with the principal persons of the choir to the Queen's Arms Tavern, in St. Paul's Churchyard, where was a great room with a harpsichord in it: and often times an evening was spent there in music and musical conversation."¹ Handel continued his organ-playing at St. Paul's with *Maurice Greene* till he found that *Greene* was also worshipping at the shrine of his rival, *Buononcini*.

Charles King, chorister of St. Paul's in his seventh year, became Almoner and Master of the Boys on the death, in 1718, of *Clark*, whose sister he had married. He composed short popular services, two of which are still in use at St. Paul's, and was buried in the crypt, in 1748.

Maurice Greene, third son of the Rev. *Thomas Greene*, D.D., Vicar of St. Olave's, Jewry, was born in 1695, admitted chorister in 1706 under *Clark*, wearing his surplice for the first time at *Queen Anne's Thanksgiving* for *Marlborough's* victories in *Brabant*. He succeeded *Brind* as organist in 1718, and was a skilful player, inventing the fashion

¹ *Hawkins, History*, 767, 859.

of playing with a solo-stop on the right hand, and soft stops on the left. In 1727 he succeeded Croft as organist and composer to the Chapel Royal, and in 1730 the University of Cambridge made him Professor of Music. In 1743 he published *Forty Select Anthems*. Rich in melody, these have given him his permanent place in music. The transference of his remains from St. Olave's, Jewry, in 1888, to the crypt of St. Paul's, where they were laid in the grave of Dr. Boyce, has been already mentioned. A distinguished foreign conductor (Richter) thought some of his best work comparable to Handel, by whose mighty genius he was probably influenced.

John Jones, born about 1732, and organist of the Middle Temple in 1749, succeeded Greene in 1755 as organist and vicar-choral of St. Paul's. In 1785 he published *Sixty Chants, Single and Double*, in the florid taste of his age. He is remembered by one of them, sung at the State Visit of George III. to St. Paul's, April 23, 1789, and at many of the Annual Services of the Charity Children. At that of 1791 Haydn heard it, and admired it so greatly that he said, "No music has for a long time affected me so much as this simple and reverential strain."¹ Anglican chants at this time were beginning to replace Gregorians, which had hitherto prevailed. Boyce, in his great collection of *Cathedral Music* (1760-78), inserted a few by different composers. It is stated that the first double chant was by the Rev. Luke Flintoft, Minor Canon of Westminster, who died 1727.

Jonathan Battishill, born in London, 1738, became a chorister of St. Paul's 1747. After playing for Boyce at the Chapel Royal, he became conductor of the band at Covent Garden, but after the death of his wife devoted himself to religious composition, set music to Charles Wesley's hymns, and published Church music and glees. He was organist succes-

¹ Grove, *Dict. of Music*.

sively of St. Clement's, Eastcheap, and of Christ Church, Newgate Street. He died in 1801, and was buried in St. Paul's, near the grave of Dr. Boyce.

Thomas Attwood, the successor of Greene as organist of St. Paul's (1796), was born in 1767, and admitted chorister at the Chapel Royal under Dr. Nares at the age of nine. The Prince of Wales (afterwards George IV.), noticing his musical ability, sent him at his own expense to Italy, where he studied two years at Naples; thence he went to Vienna, where he became a pupil of Mozart. Mozart said of him, "I have the sincerest affection for Attwood, and I feel much pleasure in telling you that he has imbibed more of my style than any scholar I ever had." The year he became organist of St. Paul's he succeeded Dr. Dupuis as composer to the King. Thirty years later, on the death of Stafford Smith, he became organist to the Chapel Royal. He was one of the founders of the Philharmonic Society. He wrote seventeen operas, but it is his beautiful Church music that has survived. He "was a man of sincere piety, and when engaged in the composition of music for the Church, always felt that he was employing the genius given to him by God for the noblest purpose to which it could be devoted—His service: and his great aim and hope were, that he might be enabled to praise Him worthily." During Mendelssohn's first visit to England, in 1829, he was the guest of Attwood, at his house at Norwood; and in memory of his sojourn there dedicated to his host *Three Preludes and Fugues for the Organ*. In one of these he introduces the tone of Attwood's gate-bell.¹ He often accompanied his host to St. Paul's, and played on the organ after service. The main attraction to him was the C-pedal board, then the only one in London, and, therefore, the only one on which Bach's music could be rendered without destructive changes.

¹ Barrett, *English Church Composers*, p. 154.

On the occasion of his second visit to England, in 1832, Mendelssohn gave an organ performance at St. Paul's, displaying "quite as transcendent a talent for that branch of executive skill as he had done at the Philharmonic on the pianoforte. Whether in working up one of Bach's mighty pedal fugues, or in extempore display of his own, he equally delighted and astonished many of the most eminent professors and critics of the metropolis."¹

In the time of Attwood, Charles Greville describes the Cathedral Service: "December 1, 1834.—Went to St. Paul's yesterday (Advent Sunday, St. Andrew's Day) to hear Sydney Smith preach. He is very good; manner impressive, voice sonorous and agreeable, *rather* familiar, but not offensively so, language simple and unadorned, sermon clever and illustrative. The service is exceeding grand, performed with all the pomp of a cathedral, and chanted with beautiful voices; the lamps, scattered few and far between throughout the vast space under the dome, making darkness visible, and dimly revealing the immensity of the building, were exceedingly striking. The Cathedral service thus chanted and performed is my *beau idéal* of worship—simple, intelligible and grand; appealing at the same time to the reason and the imagination."²

The Princess Charlotte, a great friend and patroness of musical men, was exceedingly fond of Attwood's compositions, so much so indeed that she frequently carried them about with her. Being on a visit to Bishop Fisher of Salisbury, at his palace, on New Year's Day, 1816, she presented to Mr. A. T. Corfe, then organist of the cathedral, a very beautiful setting of the Sanctus and Kyrie, by Attwood.³

¹ Benedict, *Life and Works of Mendelssohn*, 20, 21.

² Hon. C. F. Greville, *Journals of the Reign of William IV.*

³ J. S. Bumpus, *The Organists and Composers of St. Paul's Cathedral*, p. 128.

Nineteen anthems by Attwood are extant, including two for the coronation of George IV., one for that of William IV., and one for the Memorial Service at St. Paul's on the day of the funeral of Princess Charlotte. There was also a dirge in D minor for the funeral of Nelson. His best known composition is perhaps his exquisite setting of "Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire," for the Ordination Service. He used to drive from his house at Norwood to Service at St. Paul's, picking up on the way one of the choristers who lived near. On a beautiful spring morning, during this drive, he composed this gem; and the chorister sang it the same day. "What can there be more touching," asks Dr. Sparrow Simpson, "than this hymn? The scene, St. Paul's Cathedral: the Ordination. The Bishop has begged a brief interval for private prayer. The silence is almost oppressive. At length it is broken; a sweet, pure voice is heard floating away above the diapasons of the organ. Surely few strains can be so calm, so sweet, so exquisitely adapted to time and place."¹

Attwood was taken ill soon after Christmas, 1837, and neglecting the proper remedies in favour of some peculiar treatment, he died on March 28, 1838, at his house in Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, in his seventy-third year. He was buried "under his own organ" in the crypt of St. Paul's.

Sir John Goss, Attwood's pupil and successor, born 1800, came of a musical family; his father was organist of Fareham, his uncle a lay-vicar at Westminster, and deputy at St. Paul's and the Chapel Royal. Educated at the Chapel Royal under Stafford Smith, he studied under Attwood, and succeeded him in 1838, having been organist fourteen years at St. Luke's, Chelsea. One of his finest part-songs, "Ossian's Hymn to the Sun," was published in 1833; and in the same year his first

¹ *Gleanings from Old St. Paul's*, p. 244.

important anthem, "Have mercy upon me, O God." In 1852, at the request of Dean Milman, he composed a noble dirge for the funeral of the Duke of Wellington. In 1854 he edited, with the Rev. W. Mercer of Sheffield, a pointed Psalter with a collection of chants and hymns, which for some years had an immense popularity. From 1852 onwards his rich and beautiful anthems came out year by year, and it is difficult to discriminate between them: 1854, for the Sons of the Clergy, "Praise the Lord, O my soul"; 1856, for the enthronement of Bishop Tait, "O praise the Lord, laud ye the Name," sung in procession from west door to choir; 1857, "Behold, I bring you Glad Tidings" (Christmas) and "Christ our Passover" for Easter; 1859, "Almighty and merciful God"; 1860, for the public funeral of Lord Dundonald in Westminster Abbey, "O Lord God, Thou strength of my Health"; 1861, "The Wilderness" (written at the same time as Wesley's setting); 1862, "Blessed is the Man" (composed in 1842, at which time it is said that he proposed to set music to all the psalms), "These are they which follow the Lamb" and "I heard a voice from Heaven"; 1863, "Stand up and bless the Lord" (re-opening of Hereford Cathedral), "Lift up thine eyes" (Epiphany) and "O taste and see" (St. Paul's evening service); 1865, "Brother, thou art gone before us" (at the request of Dean Milman for the Sons of the Clergy); 1865 to 1868, a Burial Service, two Morning and Evening Services in A and C, and four anthems: "Come and let us return," "Hear, O Lord," "O give thanks" and "In Christ dwelleth"; 1869, *Te Deum* in F and "O Saviour of the World," which he delayed for some weeks in search of a right chord; 1869-71, "Fear not, O Land," "I will magnify Thee," "O praise the Lord of Heaven," "The Glory of the Lord": all "with music that lingers in the memory and refuses to be forgotten"; 1872, the *Te Deum* in D major and "The Lord is my Strength," both

for the Thanksgiving Service for the recovery of the Prince of Wales. The accompanying *Benedictus* in D major, composed at a later date, came to a standstill for a fortnight from a difficulty like the one mentioned above: this time the cause being a fractious modulation. Soon after this he received knighthood, and retired, continuing to attend the Cathedral services. Four years later he received the honorary degree of Mus. Doc. from the University of Cambridge. He died in 1880, at his house on Brixton Rise, in his eightieth year. At the first part of his funeral, in St. Paul's, was sung his anthem, "If we believe that Jesus died." "As a man, Goss commanded universal respect. The chief features of his character were humility, genuine religious feeling and a strong love of home and home ties. So deep-seated was his humility that it produced a sort of shyness in his manner which partially unsuited him for the rougher duties of public life. The discipline and efficiency of the Cathedral choir reached a very low standard in the latter portion of his career. But . . . he must not be solely blamed for this. The fact is, he had for a considerable period to deal with a Chapter which, taken as a body, had neither the power nor wish to face the unpleasant duty of becoming reformers. His hearty interest in all the improvements which he lived to witness in the reorganization of the choir staff by the late Dean and Chapter, and the sincere pleasure which the beautiful services gave him, prove that in better days Goss would have been second to none in his efforts to raise the musical credit of St. Paul's to its proper level."¹

To *Sir John Stainer*, his successor, it is impossible to exaggerate the debt of St. Paul's. Born in 1840, he entered the choir in 1847 under William Bayley, Master of the Boys. Miss Hackett paid for organ-lessons for him from George Cooper, sub-organist

¹ *Musical Times*, June, 1880.

of the Cathedral. While still in the choir, in 1855, he became organist of St. Benet's, Paul's Wharf. His friend Arthur Sullivan was at the same time chorister at the Chapel Royal; the two boys used to take holidays together on penny steamboats. In 1858 Stainer became organist of St. Michael's College, Tenbury, under Sir Frederic Gore Ouseley; in 1859 organist of Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1860 of the University Church. "From the time of his appointment to St. Paul's in 1872 until that of his resignation in 1888, Stainer continued to pour forth service after service, and anthem after anthem, in which beauty of melody, great individuality of form and harmony, scientific skill and expressive effect (tempered throughout with supreme devotional feeling) were blended in the happiest and most judicious manner. Where all is so fine it would be invidious to select, but it is impossible to resist pointing out the Morning Service in E flat, the Communion Service in A and D, the Evening Service in E major, and the anthems, 'I desired Wisdom,' the second part of 'And all the People saw the Thunderings,' beginning with 'When God of old came down,' and 'I saw the Lord' as among the highest flights of his genius."¹

About ten complete services are enumerated, and upwards of fifty anthems. Besides these, he composed the oratorios of *Gideon* and *The Crucifixion*, and the cantatas *Jairus's Daughter* (Worcester Festival, 1878) and *St. Mary Magdalene* (Gloucester Festival, 1883).

At St. Paul's he threw himself with heart and soul into the work of the reforming Chapter. Discipline, rehearsals, oratorios, new choir-school, enlarged range of music, services rendered daily with the spirit of aim at the utmost perfection, the selection and encouragement of the ablest colleagues in the choir; all this was stamped with

¹ Bumpus, *Organists and Composers of St. Paul's*, p. 176.

the individuality of Stainer. Sanguine, cheerful, straightforward, friendly, always seeking after the highest levels of his divine art, he had an influence over the choir and services that was unique and immense. He resigned office at St. Paul's in 1888, became Professor of Music at Oxford in 1889, and died full of honours in 1901.

Sir George Clement Martin, Mus. Doc., M.V.O., his successor, was born at Lambourn, in Berkshire, in 1844. The village church contained an unusually fine organ; the rector, Mr. Milman, afterwards Bishop of Calcutta, had unusually good services. In his sixteenth year, Martin devoted himself to music, and ere long became organist of Lambourn Church. One of his fine hymn tunes he named after his native village. For more advanced study he went to Dr. Stainer at Magdalen, and took his degree of Bachelor of Music.

In 1871 he became organist to the Duke of Buccleuch at Dalkeith, and St. John's, Edinburgh; in 1874 he was invited by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's to succeed Mr. Frederick Walker as Master of Song to the boys of the new choir-school; and in 1876 he followed George Cooper as sub-organist. When Stainer resigned in 1888, it was universally felt that no more fitting successor could be discovered than Martin. He had already shown his self-controlled command of the great instrument, his distinguished, elevated, refined and masterly skill in composition, his sympathetic fellowship with the choir and all its concerns, and his profound devotional feeling. In 1883 he received the high honour of the degree of Mus. Doc. (like Blow, Gauntlett, Oakeley, E. J. Hopkins, Warwick-Jordan and a few others) from the Archbishop of Canterbury. He has published seven or eight services of the highest calibre, including the unrivalled *Te Deum* for the Queen's Diamond Jubilee in 1897, and the accompanying Communion Service in A: and amongst his numerous anthems are

"Behold now praise the Lord" (men's voices), "Ho, every one that thirsteth," "Holiest, breathe an Evening Blessing," "Holy Spirit come, O come," "As it began to dawn," "Magnify His Name," "O be joyful in the Lord," "O come before His presence," "Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous," "The Great Day of the Lord," "Whoso dwelleth under the Defence," "Hail! Gladdening Light." The St. Paul's Evening Choir, the Special Service Choir and the Special Service Orchestra are incalculably indebted to him for sympathy, direction and inspiration.

The sub-organist, Mr. Charles Macpherson, an accomplished musician, composer, and trainer of boys, was himself educated at St. Paul's, and is full of its spirit.

CHAPTER XXVIII

PAUL'S CROSS

It seems to have been the custom in early days to erect a tall cross in every churchyard. The Emperor Justinian made a law that "none shall presume to erect a church until the Bishop shall come and consecrate the place to God by prayer, and erect the symbol of our salvation, the venerable and truly precious rood." An Irish canon of the eighth century indicates that such a cross used to mark the limit as well as the sanctity of the place. In 1299, William of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, ordered that a handsome cross should be erected in every churchyard, to which the procession shall be made on Palm Sunday. These crosses were constantly used for preaching; when standing by themselves, not in a churchyard, they often received the name of St. Martin, who was regarded as the greatest preacher of the early centuries. There were also market and town crosses, which gave the sanction of the Church to the meetings of the people.

Paul's Cross, standing in the north-east part of St. Paul's Churchyard, in the angle between the choir and the north transept, served both for preaching and for citizens' meetings. Stowe says that the antiquity of the folk-mote which used to assemble there went beyond the written annals. The earliest record of any occurrence at the Cross was the delivery of a seditious address by William FitzOsbert in 1191; from that time until towards 1643, when the pulpit and Cross were pulled down by order of the Long Parliament, many stirring events took place on this site. Its probable position was discovered in 1888 by the Cathedral surveyor,

Mr. Penrose. Stones forming an octagon of considerable size were laid bare; it was known that an elm-tree was planted on the demolition of the old preaching-station; that elm was blown down in 1879, and was close by this spot. The notices of the sermons and events are exceedingly numerous, and only some of them need be given.

CHRONOLOGY.¹

Richard I.

1191. FitzOsbert's harangue.

Henry III.

1257. Feb. 2. Visit of John Maunsel (King's Justice), the Earl of Gloucester, Henry de Bath and others to levy tallage on the City.

Nov. 6. Henry III., with the Lords of the Council, took leave of the citizens on going to France to conclude the Treaty of Abbeville with Louis IX.

1259. Henry III. and his brother Richard, King of Almayne, present at a folk-mote.

1260. Feb. 14. Henry III., Richard, King of Almayne, the Archbishop of Canterbury (Boniface of Savoy), with Justice Maunsel, received the fealty of William Fitz-Richard, Mayor of London, and others.

1261. Lent. Bull read from Pope Urban IV., absolving Henry III. from the oath he made to the Parliament of Oxford to observe "the Provisions" for better government.

June 29. Henry III. took leave of the citizens on passing into France.

¹ From *St. Paul's Cross*, by John B. Marsh. Raithby, Lawrence, and Co., 1892.

1269. Nine Bishops present at the reading of the Bull of the Pope, confirming the Charters and Liberties of England. (If the date is right, the Pope was Clement IV.)

Edward I.

1285. The churchyard walled round: the Cross first used for ecclesiastical purposes: sermons preached regularly.

1299. Dean Ralph de Baldock cursed those who had searched for gold in St. Martin's-le-Grand.

Edward II.

1311. July 22. Edward II. received homage from the earls who supported him.

Richard II.

1382. The Cross and pulpit damaged by a "tempest of lightning."

1397-8. The Statutes and Ordinances of the Parliament begun at Westminster and ended at Shrewsbury confirmed by Pope Benedict XIII., and proclaimed at Paul's Cross.

Henry VI.

1429. The second day of Advent. Two heretics abjured, and a third was carried to prison.

1440. Aug. 28. Proclamation of the submission of Palæologus, Emperor of Constantinople, to the Roman faith.

1441. July 25. Roger Boltyngbroke, the necromancer, exposed, with all his instruments, during sermon; he then abjured. He was afterwards hanged, drawn and quartered at Tyburn.

1449. Thomas Kemp, Bishop of London, rebuilt the pulpit and Cross in a more splendid style.

1457. Abjuration of alleged errors by Bishop Pecocke of Chichester. (A chapter on this is given

in the larger edition of *Memorials of St. Paul's Cathedral*.)

1465. The controversy between the Friars and the Secular Priests reached Paul's Cross. Harry Parker, a White Friar, preached that priests ought to live on alms; he was answered another Sunday by Edward Storry; then came another Friar. Lord Chancellor Kirkham committed Parker to prison; then Parker abjured. The Provincial of the White Friars went to Rome to consult the Pope, where he was imprisoned two years in the castle of St. Angelo, and narrowly escaped burning.

1469. Bull read from Pope Paul II. cursing all shoemakers who made peaks to shoes of more than two inches; and all those who worked or attended fairs on Sunday.

Richard III.

1483. May. Dr. Shaw's sermon advocating the claims of Richard to the throne.

May. Penance of Jane Shore, mistress of Edward IV.

Henry VII.

1502. Feb. Proclamation of marriage contract between James IV. of Scotland and Margaret, daughter of Henry VII.

Lent. Sir Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, denounced for treason.

Henry VIII.

1520. July 2. Henry Standish (afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph) preached furiously against Erasmus and the translators of the New Testament.

1521. May 12. Cardinal Wolsey, Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor, with the Archbishop of Canterbury and most of the Bishops of the realm, as well as the Ambassadors of the Pope and the Emperor (four Doctors of Divinity held a canopy of cloth of gold over the Cardinal's head during the

time), listened to a sermon by John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, against Martin Luther, preached by command of Pope Leo X. Many of Luther's books burned during the service.¹

1528. March. John Hig abjured certain Lutheran doctrines. On Palm Sunday he had to bear a faggot at the head of the procession.

1530. Cardinal Wolsey again present in great pomp; burning of three copies of Tyndale's translation of the New Testament. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, again preached.

1531. First Sunday in Advent. Stokesley, Bishop of London, prohibited the reading of thirty books in English. Amongst them were the *New Testament*, the *Psalter*, several books of the *Old Testament*, the *Supplication of the Beggars*, the *Burying of the Mass*, the *Books of Moses*, the *Matrimony* of Tyndale, the "*A.B.C.*" against the Clergy, a book against St. Thomas of Canterbury, a *Deputation of Purgatory*, and the *Practice of Prelates*.

1532. James Baynham, Barrister of the Middle Temple, stood at the Cross with a lighted taper in his hand, and a bundle of faggots on his shoulder, in token of recantation of Protestant errors. He afterwards professed Protestantism at St. Augustine's Church, was imprisoned, scourged and burnt at Smithfield, April 30.

1533. Henry VIII., through his council, ordered that all who preached at Paul's Cross should deny the supremacy of the Pope.

1534. Remembrances sent by Thomas Crumwell for the Council to the Bishop of London to order the preachers not to pray for the Pope at Paul's Cross: also to the Lord Mayor and nobles that they should commonly assert that the Pope is only Bishop of Rome.

¹ A striking picture of this scene was exhibited lately by J. Seymour Lucas, R.A.

1534. Penance of Elizabeth Barton (the Maid of Kent) and her associates before execution at Tyburn for pretended revelations against the King's divorce.

1538. March 10. Sermon by Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester.

1538. John Hilsey, Bishop of Rochester, after a sermon, exposed the machinery in the Rood of Grace from Boxley Abbey, Kent; it was thereupon broken to pieces.

1540. Lent. Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, preached in favour of the Six Articles (a reactionary statute enacted in 1539 and repealed in 1547).

1540. The following Sunday Barnes replied to Gardiner. He subsequently held a dispute with him in a London church, and was ultimately burnt.

Edward VI.

1547. Ridley, Bishop of Rochester, preached on the Lord's Supper. From this time for some years, Paul's Cross was frequently occupied by preachers who took a prominent part in the religious controversies of the time: Ridley, Latimer, Gardiner, Bonner and Miles Coverdale often occur.

1548. Jan. 1, 8, 15, 18. Latimer's four famous sermons on "The Ploughers."

Feb. 6. Sermon by Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, before Lord Chancellor Wriothesley, Lord Mayor Sir H. Amcotes, the Aldermen, Livery and many Judges.

1549. The Parson of St. Katherine Cree preached against the old Maypole at St. Andrew Undershaft (the second name of the church came from the pole). It had rested thirty-two years on the hooks, but was now taken down and sawn in pieces.

1531. Miles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter, in a sermon, told the story of his share in the translation of the Bible. When the King was asking the Bishops their judgment on its merits, he inquired if it had any faults. They replied there

were many. "Any heresies?" They had found none. Then said the King: "In God's name let it go abroad amongst my people." Coverdale's Bible was ordered to be publicly placed in the choir of every parish church; for security it was chained to a pillar.

1552. Nov. 1. Ridley, Bishop of London, expounded the value of the new Book of Common Prayer, used for the first time, before Lord Mayor Sir George Barnes, the Aldermen and Liverymen.

Queen Mary.

1553. Dr. Harding, Chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, urged the people not to revolt from their allegiance to Queen Mary.

1553. July 16. Bishop Ridley, for a sermon at Paul's Cross, committed to the Tower, where he lay till April 10, 1554.

1553. Aug. 13. Dr. Bourne, Chaplain to Bishop Bonner, attacked Bishop Ridley, on which there was a great uproar. (Compare the text.)

1553. Aug. 20. Dr. Watson preached, urging the people "to come home and rebuild the old temple." One hundred and twenty or more halberdiers of the Guard stood round the Cross. Lord Mayor Sir Thomas White, the Aldermen and Liverymen present: the Marquis of Winchester, the Earl of Bedford, the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Wentworth, Lord Rich and Bishop Bonner.

1553. Sept. 24. Dr. Feckenham preached the Sunday before the coronation.

1554. June 10. Dr. Pendleton, while preaching, exhibited a cat, made to resemble a priest with a wafer, taken from a gallows in Cheapside. As he denounced the outrage a gun was fired at him.

1554. July 29. Nicholas Harpsfield, champion of the Papacy, preached.

1554. Sept. 30. Gardiner preached on the Queen's marriage (which took place on July 25 at Winchester).

1554. Nov. 4. Harpsfield preached, and five persons did penance in sheets; and lighted tapers in one hand, a rod in the other. The preacher, in the course of his sermon, struck the penitents with a rod.

1554. Dec. 9. Dr. Bourne, Bishop of Bath, prayed for Pope Julius III., and for all souls in Purgatory.

1556. March 8. During the sermon a man did penance for transgressing Lent, having the carcasses of two pigs ready dressed, the one on his head, the other in his hand.

1557. Aug. 15. Procession of all the clergy in London with the Lord Mayor and others, round the Cross, singing "Hail, Festal Day!" for the Battle of St. Quentin. The preacher, Harpsfield, Arch-deacon of London, declared the numbers taken prisoners.

Queen Elizabeth.

1558. Nov. 20. Dr. Bill, Chaplain to Queen Elizabeth, preached on the Reformation in Religion.

1558. Proclamation against unlicensed preachers.

1559. April 2. The pulpit of the Cross opened after long silence (see text).

1559. April 2. Grindal preached. Present, Duke of Norfolk, Lords Arundel, Northampton, Sussex, Westmoreland, Rutland, Russell, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. All dined with the Lord Mayor.

1559. April 9. Dr. Bill preached on the Rejection of Papal Authority.

1559. Sept. 17. After sermon "began the new Morning Prayer, German fashion; men and women all do sing, and boys" (Machyn).

1560. March 30. Bishop Jewell of Salisbury's famous sermon, challenging the Romanists to prove their special views of the Eucharist from any authoritative Doctor of the first six centuries.

1564. Jan. 26. Archdeacon Cole of Essex preached, before Lord Mayor Sir Richard Malorie and the rest, against Romanism, which rested, he said, on four false pillars: Images, Purgatory, Sacrifice of the Mass and Transubstantiation.

1576. Dec. 9. Thomas White, Professor of Divinity, preached on the disregard of Sunday: "all manner of games and plays, banquetings and surfeitings are very rife."

1577. April 30. Edwyn Sandys, late Bishop of London, appointed Archbishop of York, preached a farewell sermon.

1577. Aug. 24. John Stockwood preached against plays, and compared the crowded attendance at theatres with the scanty attendance at sermons.

1579. April 29. Mr. Spark preached against theatres, calling them "the nest of the devil, and the sink of all sin."

1585. Richard Hooker, Master of the Temple, preached.

1588. Sept. 8. Queen Elizabeth, in state, was present at a Thanksgiving Sermon for the defeat of the Spanish Armada, preached by Dr. Piers, Bishop of Salisbury.

1589. Nov. 17. Thomas White, Professor of Divinity, preached in commemoration of the thirty-second year of Elizabeth's reign.

1596. During sermon, Thomas Skinner, Lord Mayor of London, with his Aldermen and Livery, received a message from Queen Elizabeth to raise 1,000 men for service abroad to aid the French in the defence of Calais. The command was executed before 8 o'clock that evening; the men were accoutred and armed in the night, and set out next morning for Dover. Before they reached Calais, it had been captured by the Spaniards, so they returned home at once.

1599. Aug. 23. The Lord General and principal Officers of State came to sermon in great bravery on Sunday morning week, and afterwards dined with Lord Mayor Sir N. Morley.

1601. Feb. 1. Ordered that the preacher at Paul's Cross should decry the Earl of Essex as a hypocrite, Papist and confederate with the Pope and King of Spain, to make him King and bring in idolatry.

1602. Oct. 24. Sermon by Dr. John King (afterwards Bishop of London) against Romanism and worldliness; thanksgiving for the forty-fourth year of Her Majesty's happy government, and especially for God's mercy to the nation, in prosperity of trade, avoidance of foreign attempts, and appeasing of inbred treasons and dissensions.

1602. Nov. 17. Queen's Accession Day. Preacher, Dr. Thornborough, Bishop of Limerick: "a dull sermon."

James I.

1603. April 14. Sermon by Mr. Hemmings, of Trinity College, Cambridge: very severe on women.

1605. April 30. A cuckoo flew over the pulpit of Paul's Cross, and cried out.

1609. August. Many books (probably against Royal Government) burnt at Paul's Cross.

1613. Nov. 25. Some books of Suarez the Jesuit, derogatory to princes, burnt.

1617. March 29. Dr. Donne did Queen Elizabeth "great right in a sermon at the Cross, before Archbishop Abbot of Canterbury and certain other great Lords."

1617. Nov. Lady Markham, wife of Sir Griffin Markham, stood at the Cross in a white sheet, and was also amerced in a fine of £1,000 for marrying one of her servants, her husband being still alive.

1619. April 4 or 10. Public thanksgiving at the Cross for the King's recovery from illness. Sermon

by John King, Bishop of London. Present, Lord Mayor Cockayne, the Aldermen, City Companies, and most of the nobility.

1620. March 26. The King present at a sermon by Bishop King. He had come to the Cathedral in state in order to encourage the repairs of the Cathedral, then ruinous.

1622. July 1. Mountaigne, Bishop of London, preached on the benevolence asked by the King, and urged the repairing of the Cathedral.

1622. Sept. 25. John Donne, Dean of St. Paul's, preached on the King's orders concerning preachers and preaching: His Majesty's constancy in religion being suspected.

1623. Feb. 23. All the Lords of the Council in London went to the Cross to service; and afterwards dined with Lord Mayor Sir Martin Lumley, when a health was drunk to the prosperity of the journey of Charles, Prince of Wales, to Spain, and his safe return.

1625. Sir Robert Howard publicly excommunicated at Paul's Cross, for contempt in refusing to answer certain questions.

Charles I.

1629. Sunday before Whit-sunday. Two papers found tied round at Paul's Cross, expostulating with the King.

1630. May 30. Charles I., attended by Officers of State, Lord Mayor Sir Robert Ducie (a man of great wealth, who afterwards gave large sums to the King in his troubles, receiving in return a portrait-ring, still in the possession of the Earl of Ducie), the Aldermen and Livery.

1631. April. Laud, Bishop of London, preached.

1633. The preaching at the Cross ceased; Paul's Cross sermons were afterwards delivered in the Cathedral.

1643. Paul's Cross was taken down by order of the Long Parliament. This was in the time of Lord Mayor Pennington. At the time of its decay and destruction it was not beautiful, being little more than a kind of octagonal booth or summer-house, of debased architecture. The beautiful cross of Bishop Kemp must have disappeared long before. The cross which the Chapter has erected near the site, with the legacy (£4,500 net) left by the late Mr. H. C. Richards, M.P., is a true cross in the Italian renaissance style, to suit the architecture of the present Cathedral: a pillar, surmounted by a statue of St. Paul, rising from an ambo, or octagonal pulpit platform, with memorial carvings, bronzes and adornments.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE INTERMENTS AND MONUMENTS IN OLD ST. PAUL'S

A GENERAL view of the monuments of St. Paul's was given in the chapter describing a walk within its historical aisles. The old Cathedral was exceedingly rich in these relics of past ages, and no account of it could be complete without fuller details of those whose records were obliterated by the Great Fire.

ROYAL PERSONS.

Sebbe, King of the East Saxons, son of Sigebert I., converted by St. Erkenwald, Bishop of London (son of Anna, seventh king of the East Saxons). Sebbe became a monk. Died 677.

King Ethelred the Unready. Died 1017.

Eadward the Atheling, otherwise the Outlaw, son of King Edmund Ironsides, and father of Edgar Atheling; exiled to Sweden. Died 1057.

John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. Died 1399.

Constance of Castile and Leon, his second wife.

Anne of Burgundy, wife of John Plantagenet, Duke of Bedford, the famous Regent of France, third son of King Henry IV.

MEN OF THE STATE.

Chancellors of England—

Henry de Wingham, Bishop of London, 1262.

John de Chishull, Bishop of London, 1280.

Ralph de Baldock, Bishop of London, 1313.

Robert de Braybrooke, Bishop of London, 1404.

Sir Christopher Hatton, K.G., 1591.

Lord Treasurers—

Sir John Northbury, 1399.

Canon Laurence Allerthorpe, 1406.

Eustace de Fauconberg, Bishop of London, 1436.

A Canon of St. Paul's, Treasurer to King Richard, 1490.

(Robert Hare, Treasurer of the Exchequer), 1611.

Lord Keeper—

Sir Nicholas Bacon, 1579.

Secretary of State—

Sir Francis Walsingham, P.C., 1590.

SOLDIERS.

Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, 1312. Commanded a division in the Welsh War, 1276; Joint-Lieutenant of England in Edward I.'s absence, 1279; with Edward I. in Gascony, 1296-9; commanded the army in France, 1296-8; with Edward I. in Scotland, and present at his death, 1307; one of the lords-ordainers in Edward II.'s absence, 1310.

Sir John Beauchamp, Standard-bearer at Crécy, one of the original Knights of the Garter, Lord Beauchamp of Warwick, 1360.

William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, K.G., 1569, and Ann Parr, his wife, sister of Queen Katherine Parr.

KNIGHTS, NOBLES, COURTIER.

Alice de Bethun, wife of William Earl of Pembroke, Earl Marshal (second of that line), 1230.

Sir Simon Burley, Banneret, K.G., c. 1388.

Margaret Talbot, daughter of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, wife of John, Earl of Shrewsbury, 1469.

John Nevill, Lord Latimer, of the Lords Latimer, descended from Joan, Countess of Westmoreland, sister of King Henry IV., 1542 or 1577.

Elizabeth Bruges, widow of John, Lord Chandos of Sudeley, 1559.

Sir Thomas Heneage, P.C., 1594, and *Anna Poins*, his wife, 1592.

Sir John Wolley, P.C., Chancellor of the Garter, 1595.

Peter Gilderstiern, Lord of Bistrup, 1636.

Sir Alan Boxhull, K.G.

BISHOPS OF LONDON (other than those who held high office in the State).

St. Erkenwald, son of Anna, King of the East Angles. (Some make him son of Offa, King of the East Saxons, but Offa did not come to the throne till 701, and Erkenwald died in 693.) Among his sisters were Etheldreda, Abbess of Ely; Sexburga, wife of Erkombert, King of Kent, and afterwards Abbess of Ely, and Ethelburga, Abbess of Barking; 693.

Ecgwulf, 745.

Theodred the Good, 953.

William, 1075.

St. Roger Niger, 1241.

Fulk Basset, 1258.

Henry de Sandwith, 1273.

Richard de Gravesend, 1303.

Gilbert de Segrave, 1317.

Richard de Newport, 1318.

Stephen de Gravesend, 1338.

Michael de Northborough, 1361.

Richard Clifford, 1421.

Robert FitzHugh, 1436.

Thomas Kemp, 1489.

Richard Hill, 1496.

Richard FitzJames, 1522.

John Stokesley, 1539.

John Aylmer, 1594.

Richard Vaughan, 1607.

Thomas Ravis, 1609.

John King, 1621.

LORD MAYORS OF LONDON.

- Hamond Chikwell (formerly), c. 1330.
 Sir John Poultney (four times), 1380.
 Sir John Ward (formerly), 1501.
 Sir Thomas Martin, Lord Mayor in 1518.
 Sir Henry Barton, Lord Mayor in 1519.
 Sir William Cockayne (formerly), 1626.

DEANS OF ST. PAUL'S.

- Hervey Borham, 1275.
 Roger de la Leye, 1285.
 John Everdon, 1336.
 Gilbert Brewer, 1353.
 Thomas Eure, D.D., 1400.
 William Say, D.D., 1468.
 Thomas Winterbourne, LL.D., 1478.
 William Worsley, LL.D., 1499.
 John Colet, D.D., 1519.
 William May, twice Dean of St. Paul's, Archbishop of York Elect, 1560.
 John Barwick, D.D., 1564.
 Alexander Nowel, D.D., 1601.
 Valentine Carey, Bishop of Exeter, 1626.
 John Donne, D.D., 1631.

ECCLESIASTICS.

- Fulk Lovell, Archdeacon of Colchester, Bishop Elect of London, 1297.
 William Melford, Canon, Archdeacon of Colchester, 1334.
 Richard Piriton, Canon, Archdeacon of Colchester, 1387.
 John Newcourt, Canon, Doctor of Decrees, 1485.
 Richard Lichfield, LL.D., Canon Residentiary, Archdeacon of London, 1496.
 Richard Morton, Bishop of Worcester, 1497.
 John Mullins, Archdeacon of London, 1591.
 John Howson, Bishop of Durham, 1632.
 Brian Walton, Prebendary, Bishop of Chester, 1661.

DOCTORS.

Thomas Lynacre, Priest, Physician to Henry VIII., 1524.

John Smith, Canon Residentiary, Doctor of Physic, 1539.

William Baronsdale, M.D., St. John's College, Cambridge, Linacre Lecturer on Medicine, President of the College of Physicians, 1589-1600. 1608.

Sir Simon Baskerville, Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, M.B., 1611; M.D., F.C.P., 1615; Physician successively to James I. and Charles I.; knighted 1636. 1641.

ARTISTS.

Roger Waltham, Canon, Decorator of St. Paul's, 1326.

Sir Anthony Van Dyck, 1641.¹

MUSICIAN.

John Tomkins (1586-1638) (brother of Thomas Tomkins, organist of Worcester Cathedral and of the Chapel Royal), organist of King's College, Cambridge, 1606; organist of St. Paul's Cathedral, 1619; epistler and gospeller (musical reciter), Chapel Royal, London; composer of anthems; the "Thomalin" of three of Phineas Fletcher's Eclogues. 1638.

¹ A movement having arisen in Holland to restore the commemoration of Van Dyck in St. Paul's Cathedral (his monument was destroyed in the Great Fire), the Royal Academy wished to take this privilege on themselves, and the work was entrusted to Sir Thomas Brock, R.A., C.V.O.

CHAPTER XXX

MEMORIALS AND BURIALS IN THE NEW CATHEDRAL

- I. Naval—II. Military—III. Statesmen—IV. Ecclesiastical—V. Men of Letters—VI. Painters, Sculptors, Architects, Engineer: (i) Painters; (ii) Sculptors; (iii) Architects; (iv) Engineer—VII. Musicians—VIII. Philanthropists—IX. Doctors—X. Explorers.

I. NAVAL.

1. *Admiral Lord Rodney* (1719-92), Harrow. Famous for naval victories in the West Indies: Martinique, St. Lucia, Grenada, St. Vincent, Dominica; received the thanks of Parliament. 1792, Rossi.

2. *Captain Robert Faulknor* (1763-95). Hero of many fights in the West Indies: Grenada, 1779; capture of Fort Royal alone, 1794; foremost at capture of St. Lucia, Guadeloupe and Fort Fleur d'Epée, 1794; killed on board the *Blanche* while trying to lash the bowsprit of the French frigate *Pique* to his capstan. 1795, Rossi.

3. *Admiral Earl Howe* (1726-99). After a brilliant career became Lord of the Admiralty, Treasurer of the Navy and Commander-in-Chief on the American station; Commander in the Channel; relieved Gibraltar against superior forces in 1782; First Lord of the Admiralty; with Channel Fleet won the great victory of the 1st June, 1794, capturing six French ships; after retirement, pacified mutineers at Portsmouth. The signalling code was perfected and refined by him. 1799, Flaxman.

4. *Captain Rundell Burgess*. Fell gloriously in the victory of Camperdown, when trying to force his ship, *Ardent*, through the enemy's lines. 1797, Banks.

5. *Captain Westcott, R.N.* (1743-98). Killed in command of the *Majestic* at the Nile. Banks.

6. *Captain Ralph Willett Miller, R.N.* (1762-99). Served under Rodney; Flag-captain to Nelson, 1796; Cape St. Vincent, 1797; the Nile, 1798; served under Sir Sidney Smith off Egypt and Syria; killed during defence of St. Jean d'Acre by accidental explosion.

7 and 8. *Captains Mosse and Riou.* Distinguished in the Detached Squadron against Copenhagen (1801), where they were killed. 1801, Rossi, R.A.

9. *Admiral Viscount Duncan* (1731-1804). Defeated the Dutch admiral De Winter off Camperdown, 1797. 1804, Westmacott.

10. *Lord Nelson.* 1805, Flaxman.

11. *Captain George N. Hardinge, R.N.* (1781-1808). Cut out Dutch *Atalante* in Vlie Roads, Texel, 1804; took part in capture of the Cape; killed at capture of French cruiser off Ceylon; public money voted for the monument; brother of F.M. First Viscount Hardinge. Manning.

12. *Admiral Lord Collingwood* (Cuthbert Collingwood, 1750-1810). Served in West Indies; served in Nelson's ship, 1778; commanded ship in battle of 1st of June, 1794; good service at Cape St. Vincent, 1797; blockaded Cadiz, 1797-8; blockaded Brest, 1795-1805; took command on Nelson's death at Trafalgar, 1805, but lost many of the prizes through neglecting Nelson's last order; missed a chance of destroying the Toulon fleet, 1808; died at sea, 1810. Westmacott.

13. *Admiral of the Fleet Earl St. Vincent* (Sir John Jervis, 1735-1823). One of the greatest of naval commanders and administrators. His chief victory was the defeat of the Spanish Fleet off Cape St. Vincent, 14th February, 1797. Baily.

14. *Admiral the Earl of Northesk* (William Carnegie, seventh earl, 1758-1831). Imprisoned by the Nore mutineers; fought at Trafalgar; Commander-in-Chief at Plymouth; buried in the crypt.

15. *Captain Sir Wm. Hoste, K.C.B.*, first baronet (1780-1828). Served under Nelson at Toulon, St. Vincent, Santa Cruz; took or destroyed 200 French or Venetian vessels in Adriatic (1808-9); destroyed forty-six sail in 1810; defeated greatly superior squadron at Lissa, and took many prizes, 1811; other exploits in 1813-14. Campbell.

16. *Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm, K.C.B.* (1768-1838). Distinguished in the West Indies, East Indies, China and under Nelson in the Mediterranean; Commander-in-Chief at St. Helena and in the Mediterranean. Baily.

17. *Admiral Sir Edward Codrington, K.C.B.* (1770-1851). Commanded ship at Trafalgar; Commander-in-Chief in Mediterranean; joined French and Russia squadrons in the Battle of Navarino.

18. *Captain Granville Gower Loch* (1813-53). Distinguished in China, Nicaragua and second Burmese war; shot while attacking Donabew, 1853. Marochetti.

19. *Captain Edward Mowbray Lyons*. Killed in attack on the batteries of Sevastopol in H.M.S. *Miranda*, June 23, 1855, made under his father's orders, after brilliant successes in the Sea of Azov. Son of Admiral Sir Edmund Lyons, Commander of the Black Sea Squadron. His death made a deep impression. Queen Victoria mourned his loss as one who was a bright ornament to the Navy. Aged 36. Monument erected in deepest grief by officers and men of H.M.S. *Miranda*. Noble.

20. *Admiral Lord Lyons* (1790-1858). Active service in Dardanelles, East Indies and Mediterranean; Minister in Athens, Switzerland and Stockholm; Commander-in-Chief 1855-8, Black Sea, Crimean War. 1858, Noble.

21. *Admiral Sir Charles Napier, K.C.B.* (1786-1860). Commander of the fleet of Donna Maria, Queen of Portugal, against Don Miguel; and in the Mediterranean with Sir Robert Stopford, especially at Beyrout; his unauthorized convention the basis of

negotiations; decorated by the European Powers; Commander of the Channel Fleet, 1846; Commander in the Baltic, 1854. 1860, Adams.

22. *Officers and Men of H.M.S. "Captain,"* which foundered on its first voyage in the Bay of Biscay, 1870.

23. *Admiral Sir James Scott, K.C.B.* (1790-1872). Flag-captain to Sir George Cockburn; distinguished in the West Indies, the Pacific and the China Station.

II. MILITARY.

1. *General Lord Heathfield* (George Augustus Eliott, 1717-90). Adjutant at Dettingen in 1743 and Fontenoy 1745; *aide-de-camp* to George II.; second-in-command of the Cuban expedition; governor of Gibraltar, 1755; defended Gibraltar against D'Arzon and the Spaniards, 1779-83. 1790, Rossi.

2. *General Sir Ralph Abercromby* (1734-1801), Rugby. Active service in Germany, Flanders, West Indies; reduced St. Lucia and Trinidad; Commander-in-Chief in Ireland and Scotland; capture of Dutch Fleet; command in Mediterranean, defeated French at Alexandria, and died of wounds. Westmacott.

3. *Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis* (1738-1805). Governor-General of India; Eton; active service in Germany, North America, subdued N. Jersey, occupied Philadelphia, invaded Virginia; took command at Calcutta and reformed abuses in India; defeated Tippoo Sahib at Seringapatam; Viceroy and Commander-in-Chief in Ireland; sent to India again to make lasting peace with native powers; took command at Calcutta; died of fever at Ghazipore. 1805, Rossi.

4. *General Sir John Moore* (1761-1809). Active service in Corsica, West Indies, Holland, Mediterranean, Egypt, Portugal, Spain. Famous retreat from Madrid to Corunna; mortally wounded at embarkation; lived to hear of defeat of French; buried at midnight. Bacon.

5 and 6. *Major-General Mackenzie and Brig.-General Langwerth*. Fell gloriously at the victory of Talavera, 1809. Manning.

7. *Lieut.-Colonel Sir William Myers, Bart.* (1784-1811). Fell gloriously at the head of the Fusilier Brigade at the victory of Albuera, aged 27.

Kendrick.
Major-General Daniel Hoghton (1770-1811). Distinguished in Jamaica, India and the Peninsula; fell gloriously at the victory of Albuera.

Chantrey.
9. *General Sir Isaac Brock, K.C.B.* (1769-1812). Distinguished in wars in West Indies, Baltic, Canada and United States; received surrender of General Hull's forces at Detroit; fell gloriously in engagement with General van Rennselaar at Queenstown.

Westmacott.
10 and 11. *Major-Generals Crauford and Mackinnon*. Robert Crauford (1764-1812), distinguished in India, Ireland, Buenos Ayres and Peninsula. Fell gloriously at Ciudad Rodrigo, with Henry Mackinnon, in command of the Highlanders.

Bacon, jun.
12. *Major-General B. E. Bowes*. Fell gloriously in the victory of Salamanca, when leading the storming party.

Chantrey.
13. *Major-General John Gaspard Le Marchant*, famous in Peninsula (1766-1812). Intimate friend of George III.; devised new system of cavalry sword exercise; projected schools of instruction for officers, issuing in Sandhurst; Lieut.-Governor of the schools; Major-General in the Peninsula; mortally wounded at Salamanca, 1812.

14. *Colonel Hon. Henry Cadogan* (Peninsula hero), son of first Earl Cadogan (1780-1813). Eton; *aide-de-camp* to Wellesley in the Peninsula, 1808-10; commanded 71st Highlanders, 1810-11; commanded brigade, 1811-13; killed at Vittoria.

15. *Major-General Andrew Hay* (1762-1814). Com-

manded a brigade at Walcheren and in the Peninsula; mortally wounded before Bayonne.

Hopper.

16 and 17. *Major-Generals Gore and Skerrett*. Two major-generals killed at Bergen-op-Zoom, March 10, 1814.

Chantrey.

18. *General Robert Ross* (hero in American War, 1766-1814). Greatly helped to defeat the French at Maida; with Sir John Moore at Corunna; Walcheren; *aide-de-camp* to George III.; commanded expeditionary force against United States in 1814 in co-operation with Admiral Sir A. Cochrane; won Battle of Bladensburg and took Washington, August 24, 1814; died from wound received at Baltimore. Widow and descendants to be called "of Bladensburg."

19. *General Sir Robert Gillespie, K.C.B.* (1766-1814). As Adjutant-General in San Domingo, 1766, was attacked by eight assassins, and killed six; did heroic deeds in India, Java and Sumatra; killed in attack on Kalunga, Nepaul.

Chantrey.

20. *Major-General the Hon. Sir William Ponsonby, K.C.B.* (1772-1815). Waterloo hero; son of first Lord Ponsonby; served in the Peninsula; led his brigade at Vittoria; led the famous charge of the Union Brigade on d'Erlon's shattered corps at Waterloo, and was killed by French Lancers.

Theed and Baily.

21 and 22. *General Edward Pakenham, G.C.B., and General Sir Samuel Gibbs, K.C.B.* Both mortally wounded in the assault on New Orleans. Pakenham (1778-1815) commanded the 64th at the capture of St. Lucia; joined Wellington in the Peninsula after Talavera; led the decisive movement of the 3rd Division at Salamanca, earning remarkable eulogy from Wellington. Gibbs commanded the 11th in the West Indies, and the 39th at the Cape and Travancore; distinguished in the Java expedition.

1815, Westmacott.

23. *General Sir Thomas Picton, G.C.B. (1758-1815).* Distinguished in the West Indies and the Peninsula; thanked by the House of Commons seven times; commanded the 5th division at Quatre-Bras (wounded) and Waterloo, where he fell gloriously; buried in St. Paul's. 1815, Gahagan.

24. *Major-General Sir John Jones, R.E., K.C.B.,* first baronet (1783-1843). *Aide-de-camp* to General Leith with Spanish Army, 1808; Chief of Engineers in Walcheren expedition, 1809; completed lines at Torres Vedras, 1810; sole inspector of the defences of the Netherlands; *aide-de-camp* to George IV., 1825; drew up plans for defence of United Kingdom and Gibraltar, 1840; works of contemporary military history. Behnes.

25. *The Duke of Wellington (1769-1852).* For a long time this great monument was in the S.W. Chapel, where it could not be seen. Lord Leighton obtained its removal to the site under one of the arches of the nave, where the sculptor intended it to be. His design is at length completed by an equestrian figure. 1852, Alfred Stevens.

26. *General Sir Charles Napier, G.C.B. (1782-1853).* The conqueror of Scinde. 1853, Adams.

27. *Officers and Men of the Cavalry and the 57th and 77th Foot (now 1st and 2nd Battalions of the Middlesex Regiment) who died in the Crimea, with the Crimean colours of the Middlesex Regiment.* 1854, 1856, Noble.

28. *The Coldstream Guards.* Inkerman, 1854, Marochetti. South Africa, 1899-1902, Goscombe John.

29. *Major-General Sir Arthur Wellesley Torrens, K.C.B. (1779-1828).* Distinguished in the West Indies, Portugal, Netherlands; military secretary to Wellington in the Peninsula; Adjutant-General of the Forces. 1855, Marochetti.

30. *Brigadier-General Sir Henry Lawrence, K.C.B. (1806-57),* Bengal Artillery. Cabul Expedition, 1842; Resident of Nepaul, 1843; agent for foreign

relations and affairs of the Punjab and N.W. Frontier; Resident at Lahore, 1847; Chief Commissioner in Oudh, 1856; on breaking out of Mutiny, Brigadier-General over all the troops in Oudh; killed while holding Lucknow successfully against the mutineers, 1857. Lough.

31. *General Sir William Napier, K.C.B.* (1785-1860). The historian of the Peninsular War, Conquest of Scinde, etc., and himself distinguished in the Peninsula; brother of the conqueror of Scinde.

Adams.

32. *Majôr-General Sir John Inglis, K.C.B.* (1814-62). Succeeded Sir Henry Lawrence in command at Lucknow during the Mutiny: gallant defence.

33. *Officers and Men killed in New Zealand* (1861-66).

34. *Field-Marshal Lord Strathnairn* (Sir Hugh Rose, 1801-85), *G.C.S.I., G.C.B.* After distinguished service (the Crimea and India) was Commander-in-Chief in India (1860) and Commander-in-Chief in Ireland (1865-70), where he suppressed a rebellion.

35. *Officers and Men of the Royal Fusiliers (7th Foot) who died in the Afghan Campaign, 1879-80.*

Forsyth.

36. *Officers killed in the Afghan War* (1878-80).

37. *Officers and Men killed in the First Boer Campaign* (1880-81).

38. *Major-General Charles George Gordon, C.B.* (1833-85). "Chinese Gordon," the hero of the suppression of the Taeping Rebellion in China; Governor-General of the Soudan under Ismail Pasha; died at Khartûm, after a siege of 317 days, in the attempt to rescue the European garrisons from the Mahdi.

Boehm.

39. *Major-General Sir Herbert Stewart, K.C.B.* (1843-85). Distinguished in the Zulu War, 1879, the Egyptian War, 1882, and the Suakim Campaign, 1884; killed at Abu-Klea in Lord Wolseley's Gordon Relief Expedition.

Boehm.

40. *Colonel Sir Duncan Macdougall* (1787-1886). Distinguished at the Cape of Good Hope, the Peninsula and the American War of 1814-15; charged with organization of Colonial Militia in Nova Scotia, 1825; Second-in-command of British Legion in Spain, 1835; prominent figure in Volunteer Movement.

41. *Major-General Sir Charles Metcalfe Macgregor, K.C.B.* (1840-87). Distinguished in Indian Mutiny, China, Abyssinia and Afghanistan; Quarter-Master-General of India and Commander of Punjab Frontier Force; wrote on Afghanistan.

42. *Field-Marshal Lord Napier of Magdala, G.C.S.I., G.C.B.* (1810-90). After an illustrious career in India was conqueror of Theodore of Abyssinia; buried in St. Paul's.

43. *Field-Marshal Sir Patrick Grant G.C.B., G.C.M.G.* (1804-95). Distinguished in Gwalior; first and second Sikh Wars; Commander-in-Chief of Army of Madras; Governor of Malta. 1895.

44. *Field-Marshal Sir Donald Stewart, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I.* (1824-1900). Famous for the march to Cabul, 1880; Commander-in-Chief in India. 1900.

45. *Officers and Men of the Duke of Cambridge's Own (Imperial Yeomanry) who died in South African War, 1900-02.* 1902.

46. *Officers and Men of the Middlesex Yeomanry. South African War (1900-02).* 1902.

47. *Field-Marshal Sir Samuel Browne, G.C.B., V.C., etc.* Victorious in Afghanistan and Commander-in-Chief in India.

48. *Colonial Troops (4,200) who died in South Africa.*
H.R.H. Princess Louise, 1905.

49. *Field-Marshal Sir Henry Norman, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.*, distinguished in Punjab campaign, the Mutiny, and Oude; A.D.C. to the Queen; member of Council of India; Colonial Governor; declined the Viceroyalty of India.

50. *Field-Marshal Sir Lintorn Simmons, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.*, distinguished in Crimea; Inspector-General of Fortifications; Military Adviser at Berlin Conference; Governor and Commander-in-Chief at Malta; Commander-in-Chief of the Royal Engineers.

III. STATESMEN.

1 and 2. *William and Frederick, second and third Viscounts Melbourne* (1779-1848 and 1782-1853); Eton. William was first Prime Minister and adviser to the young Queen Victoria. Frederick, G.C.B., Ambassador, was created Lord Beauvale and was Minister-Plenipotentiary to Bavaria and Spain, and Ambassador at Lisbon and Vienna. Marochetti.

3. *Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, D.C.L.* (1779-1859). Son of the eleventh Lord Elphinstone; Governor of Madras and afterwards of Bombay; offered the Governor-Generalship of India; wrote on the history of India, and was one of the ablest of Indian statesmen. Noble.

4. *Earl of Mayo* (Richard Southwell Bourke, sixth). Viceroy of India (1822-72). Assassinated by a fanatic¹ at Port Blair.

¹ Shere Ali was an Afridi, and enlisted in the Punjab. Attractive to everybody, he was made orderly to the Lieut.-Governor at Peshawur, and attended his children in their walks. Solemnly summoned by his tribe to avenge a murder, he applied for leave, was refused, and absented himself. Unfortunately the avenging of the murder took place just inside British territory. Convicted by circumstantial evidence, he was condemned to penal servitude for life in the Andaman Islands. In vain he petitioned Supreme Court and Governor-General. Unable to understand British justice, and brooding over what he thought a wrong, he seized the opportunity of the visit of Lord Mayo, and stabbed him as he was stepping from the pier to regain his ship; asked if he had any accomplices, he answered, "Only God and I knew of it." I had these details from Col. Sir Edward Henry, K.C.V.O., C.S.I.

5. *Rt.-Hon. Sir H. Bartle Frere, Bart., K.C.B., G.C.S.I., D.C.L., LL.D.* (1815-84). Thanked by Parliament for conduct in Indian Mutiny; Governor of Bombay; Governor of Zanzibar for suppression of Slave Trade; conducted Edward VII. as Prince of Wales round India; Governor of Cape and High Commissioner of South Africa; made war on Cete-wayo; predicted whole course of events in South Africa.

6. *Sir Harry Parkes, G.C.M.G.* (1828-85), diplomatist. Served many years in China; arrested while negotiating close of third Chinese War, 1860, kept in heavy chains in Peking eleven days, constantly threatened with death, closely confined for three weeks; Minister to Japan, where he was associated with every forward movement, in spite of many attempts at assassination; Minister to China, and concluded treaty with Corea, opening it to British trade.

7. *Sir John Hawley Glover, G.C.M.G.* (1829-85). Colonial Governor; Administrator of Lagos; commanded Houssas in Ashanti War, 1873; Governor of Newfoundland and Governor of the Leeward Islands.

8. *Sir Robert Montgomery, K.C.B., G.C.S.I.* (1809-87). Indian Administrator. Distinguished for activity and prudence in the Indian Mutiny; Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab; Member of the Indian Council.

9. *The Rt.-Hon. William Bede Dalley* (1831-88). Leading statesman in New South Wales; memorable for the fact of sending voluntary Colonial troops to aid the Imperial forces (Soudan). This was the first occasion of such a step.

10. *The Rt.-Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, G.C.B.* (1815-91). The organizer of the Dominion of Canada; of Scots origin, born at Kingston, Canada; Prime Minister of Canada, 1857; first Prime Minister of the Dominion, 1867; Premier and Minister of the Interior, 1878-91; his widow was created a peeress.

11. *Earl of Lytton* (Edward Robert Bulwer (first)), Governor-General of India (1831-91). Statesman and poet; proclaimed Queen Victoria Empress of India at Delhi, 1877; Ambassador at Paris.

Alfred Gilbert, R.A.

12. *The Rt.-Hon. Sir George Grey, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D.* (1812-98). Colonial Governor; Governor successively of South Australia, New Zealand and Cape Colony; again Governor of New Zealand; Prime Minister of New Zealand, 1877-9; successfully advocated adult franchise, triennial parliaments, taxation of land values, leasing Crown lands and compulsory repurchase of private estates; buried publicly in St. Paul's.

13. *Sir Charles Pritchard*. Able Indian administrator and financier.

IV. ECCLESIASTICAL.

1. *John Donne*, Dean of St. Paul's (1573-1631). His biography has been given in the text. The effigy is a relic of the old Cathedral.

1631, Nicholas Stone.

2. *Thomas Newton* (1704-82). Dean of St. Paul's and Bishop of Bristol. An account of him is given in the text; buried in the crypt.

3. *Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, D.D., F.R.S.* (1769-1822). Christ's Hospital and Pembroke College, Cambridge. Calcutta was the first English Bishopric created in India (1813), and Middleton the first Bishop. He was sent out by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; promoted education and established Bishop's College, Calcutta; died there.

4. *Reginald Heber* (1783-1826). Bishop of Calcutta, 1822-6; Prizeman at Oxford for English Essay, Latin Poem and English Verse ("Palestine"); Bampton Lecturer; Fellow of All Souls; poet and hymn-writer; travelled in all parts of India; died of apoplexy at Trichinopoly. Chantrey, R.A.

5. *Rev. William Nelson, D.D., First Earl Nelson* (1757-1835). Created an earl on the death of his younger brother, the great admiral, Horatio Viscount Nelson; buried in the crypt.

6. *Charles James Blomfield, D.D.* (1786-1857). Bishop of London from 1828 to 1856. The notice of him is in the text. George Richmond, R.A.

7. *Henry Milman, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's* (1791-1868), to whom this book is greatly indebted. A biography of him is given in the text; his grave is in front of the sacarium in the crypt.

1868, Williamson.

8. *Henry Melvill* (1798-1871). Canon of St. Paul's; the most eloquent preacher of his day; buried in the crypt.

9. *Prebendary Henry Venn* (1796-1873). Son of John Venn, Rector of Clapham, a founder of the Church Missionary Society (son of Henry Venn, 1775-79, Evangelical Divine); Hon. Secretary of the Church Missionary Society.

10. *Bishop Piers Calverley Claughton, D.D.* (1814-84). Bishop of St. Helena; Bishop of Colombo; Archdeacon of London and Assistant Bishop of London; Chaplain-General.

11. *John Jackson* (1811-85). Bishop of London, 1869-85. The notice of him is in the text.

Woolner, R.A.

12. *Robert Claudius Billing, Bishop of Bedford.* A hard-working suffragan in East London under Bishop Temple.

13. *Henry Parry Liddon* (1829-90). Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's; D.D. and D.C.L.; student of Christ Church, Oxford; Ireland Professor of Exegesis; his sermons at St. Paul's for twenty years a central fact of London life; biographer of Pusey.

Kempe.

14. *Mandell Creighton* (1843-1901). Bishop of London, 1896-1901. His biography is in the text.

Thornycroft, R.A.

15. *Frederic Temple*. Archbishop of Canterbury ; Bishop of London from 1885 to 1896. A biography of him is given in the text. Pomeroy.

16. *Miss M. Fussell*. Bequeathed £120,000 to the London Diocesan Home Mission, and thereby founded between seventy and eighty new parishes.

V. MEN OF LETTERS.

1. *Dr. Samuel Johnson* (1709-84). The famous lexicographer, essayist, moralist, scholar and critic ; buried in Westminster Abbey. The monument in consequence of essential connection with Fleet Street and the City. Bacon.

2. *Sir William Jones* (1746-94). Celebrated orientalist and jurist ; Harrow ; University College, Oxford ; tutor to second Lord Spencer ; member of Johnson's Club ; intimate with Burke and Gibbon ; Judge of High Court at Calcutta ; published six volumes of Commentaries on Asiatic poetry ; translated sacred books of Hindus. Bacon.

3. *Rev. Richard Harris Barham* (1788-1845). Author of *Ingoldsby Legends* ; Minor Canon of St. Paul's and Vicar of St. Faith's, E.C.

4. *Henry Hallam* (1779-1859). The historian ; Eton and Christ Church Oxford ; *Europe in the Middle Ages*, *Constitutional History of England*, *Literature of Europe*. Theed.

5. *Charles Reade* (1814-84). Popular novelist and dramatist : *Masks and Faces*, *Foul Play*, *The Cloister and the Hearth*, *Hard Cash*, *Never too late to Mend* ; employed fiction to expose social abuses.

6. *War Correspondents of Lord Wolseley's two Egyptian Campaigns*, including Frank Power (of the *Times*), who was with Gordon at Khartûm ; was sent home by him with Colonel Stewart in a small steamer to carry dispatches, which ran aground at Berber. They were tempted ashore by the Arabs and murdered.

7. *Sir Walter Besant*. Popular novelist; *All Sorts and Conditions of Men* was the cause of the People's Palace in East London.

8. *Archibald Forbes* (1838-1900). War Correspondent, *Morning Advertiser*, *Daily News* (Franco-Prussian War, Russo-Turkish War, Afghanistan, Zulu).

9. *The War Correspondents of the South African Campaign*.

10. *W. E. Henley*. Poet and essayist.

Bust by Rodin.

11. *Sir William Henry Russell*. The War Correspondent of the Crimea and other campaigns.

Herbert Mackennal, A.R.A.

VI. PAINTERS, SCULPTORS, ARCHITECTS, ENGINEER.

(i) *Painters*.¹

1. *Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A.* (1723-92). Founder and first President of the Royal Academy; buried in the crypt.

1792, Flaxman.

2. *James Barry, R.A.* (1741-1806). Historical painter; buried in Artists' Corner in the Crypt.

Bust.

3. *John Opie, R.A.* (1761-1807). Portrait and historical painter; son of a Cornish carpenter; buried in Artists' Corner in the crypt.

4. *Benjamin West, second P.R.A.* (1738-1820). An original R.A.; born in Pennsylvania; historical and scriptural painter; buried in Artists' Corner in the crypt.

5. *Henry Fuseli, R.A.* (1741-1825). Native of Zurich; painted scenes from Shakespeare and Milton, and other subjects; buried in Artists' Corner in the crypt.

6. *George Dawe, R.A.* (1781-1829). Portrait-painter; painted a series for the Emperor

¹ It has been already mentioned (p. 251) that the Council of the Royal Academy has promised a monument of Van Dyck, who was buried and commemorated in the Old Cathedral.

Alexander, and many Court portraits; buried in Artists' Corner in the crypt.

7. *Sir Thomas Lawrence*, third P.R.A. (1769-1830). The famous portrait-painter; buried in Artists' Corner in the crypt.

8. *J. M. W. Turner* (1775-1851). The greatest of landscape-painters; buried in the crypt.

1851, Macdowell.

9. *Sir Edwin Landseer*, R.A. (1802-73). The animal-painter; declined the Presidency of the R.A.; finished the lions for Nelson's monument in Trafalgar Square; buried in Artists' Corner in the crypt, with a monument near.

10. *George Cruikshank* (1792-1878). Caricaturist and illustrator; illustrated for Charles Dickens, Harrison Ainsworth and many others; an ardent teetotaler; buried in the crypt.

11. *Randolph Caldecott* (1846-86). Artist; made his mark as a book-illustrator, 1875; designed in colour for children's books, 1878-85. Monument in Artists' Corner.

Alfred Gilbert, R.A.

12. *Frank Holl*, R.A. (1845-88). Son and grandson of engravers; painted 198 portraits, including Duke of Cambridge, Sir William Jenner, Sir Henry Rawlinson, John Bright, Lord Roberts and two of King Edward VII. while Prince of Wales. Monument in Artists' Corner.

Alfred Gilbert, R.A.

13. *Lord Leighton*, P.R.A. (1830-9). Buried in the crypt.

1896, Brock.

14. *Sir John Everett Millais*, Bart., P.R.A. (1829-96). Buried in Artists' Corner in the crypt.

15. *George Richmond*, R.A. (1809-96). Son of Thomas Richmond, miniature-painter, and father of Sir William Richmond, K.C.B., R.A., the eminent painter and decorator of St. Paul's Cathedral. World-wide fame by portrait in water-colour of William Wilberforce; painted portraits of

eminent persons in crayons and oils for over forty years; monument in Artists' Corner.

(ii) *Sculptors.*

1. *John H. Foley, R.A.* (1818-74). Sculptor: equestrian statues of Sir James Outram, Lord Canning and Lord Hardinge at Calcutta; statues of O'Connell, Goldsmith and Burke in Dublin; Lord Clyde at Glasgow and Lord Clive at Shrewsbury; the group of Asia in the Prince Consort's Monument, Hyde Park; John Stuart Mill on the Thames Embankment, and Sir Charles Barry in the House of Commons. Buried in Artists' Corner in the crypt.

2. *Sir J. Edgar Boehm, R.A., Bart.* (1834-90). Sculptor; born at Vienna; Sculptor-in-Ordinary to Queen Victoria; buried in Artists' Corner in the crypt.

(iii) *Architects.*

1. *Sir Christopher Wren* (1632-1723); buried in Artists' Corner in the crypt.

2. *Robert Mylne, F.R.S.* (1734-1811). Architect, engineer and surveyor to St. Paul's Cathedral. (Blackfriars Bridge, the Gloucester and Berkeley Canal, etc.) Buried in crypt.

3. *George Dance, R.A.* (1741-1825). Architect. (Newgate, St. Luke's Hospital and the front of Guildhall.) Buried in Artists' Corner in the crypt. (Son of the Architect Dance who designed the Mansion House.)

4. *Charles Robert Cockerell* (1788-1863). Architect; R.A., D.C.L.; Oxford; Surveyor to St. Paul's Cathedral; designed the Taylorian Building, Oxford, and finished the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, and St. George's Hall, Liverpool.

F. P. Cockerell.

5. *F. C. Penrose*. Architect; Surveyor of St. Paul's Cathedral; Principal of the British School at Athens; son of Elizabeth Penrose, authoress of *Mrs. Markham's History of England*, in which he figured as "Mary."

(iv) *Engineer*.

John Rennie, F.R.S. (1761-1821). Engineer; designed Waterloo Bridge, London Bridge, Southwark Bridge and Plymouth Breakwater; buried in crypt.

VII. MUSICIANS.

1. *Maurice Greene, Mus. Doc.* (1696-1755). Organist of St. Paul's; remains transferred to the crypt, and placed in Boyce's grave.

2. *William Boyce, Mus. Doc.* (1710-79). Chorister at St. Paul's; organist and composer to the Chapel Royal; a great Church composer; buried in the crypt.

3. *Philip Hayes, Mus. Doc.* (1738-97). Professor of Music at Oxford; organist of Magdalen and St. John's; composed concertos, anthems, songs, glees, an oratorio and odes; buried in the crypt.

4. *Thomas Attwood, Mus. Doc.* (1765-1838). Organist of St. Paul's; buried in the crypt.

5. *Sir John Goss* (1800-80). Musical composer and organist of St. Paul's; chorister at Chapel Royal; pupil of Attwood; a wonderfully fertile author of the best class of Church music; monument.

6. *Sir John Stainer*. Notice of him is given amongst the organists of St. Paul's; bas-relief.
1901, Pegram.

7. *Sir Arthur Sullivan* (1842-1900). The greatest English composer since Purcell; buried in the crypt.
1900, Goscombe John.

VIII. PHILANTHROPISTS.

1. *John Howard* (the hero of Prison Reform, 1726-90). Member of the Society of Friends; imprisoned in France, 1756; inspected prisons of England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, Spain, Portugal; visited lazarettos in France, Italy and Turkey; died of camp-fever while with the Russian Army at Kherzen. First monument in the Cathedral. Bacon.

2. *Edward Vansittart Neale* (1810-92). Christian Socialist and Co-operator; pioneer of co-operative production and profit-sharing.

3. *Sir George Williams* (1821-95). Founder of the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association; merchant in St. Paul's Churchyard. When he died the Y.M.C.A. had more than 500,000 members, in every civilized country. Buried in the crypt; monument by Sir George Frampton, R.A.

IX. DOCTORS.

1. *William Babington* (1756-1833). Physician and mineralogist; physician to Guy's Hospital; M.D., Aberdeen; Hon. M.D., Dublin; one of the founders of the Geological Society and president; geological and chemical works. 1833, Behnes.

2. *Sir Astley Cooper, Bart.* (1768-1841). Eminent surgeon; great practice; lecturer to St. Thomas's, Guy's and the Royal College of Surgeons; published surgical and anatomical treatises. Baily.

X. EXPLORERS.

1. *Professor E. H. Palmer, Captain William John Gill and Lieut. Harold Charrington*. Murdered by being thrown over a cliff while on a secret service mission to the Arabs of the Sinaitic Peninsula for the purchase of mules, at the outbreak of the Egyptian War of 1882. The remains were dis-

covered and brought back eighteen months later by Sir Charles Warren. (*Life of E. H. Palmer*, by Walter Besant.)

2. *Lieut.-Colonel James Augustus Grant* (1827-92). African traveller; journeyed in Central Africa with Captain Speke in 1861-3, and discovered the sources of the Nile in the Mountains of the Moon.

It will be noticed that by Rossi there are 6 monuments, by Chantrey 5, by Westmacott 5, by Bacon 4, by Noble 4, by Adams 3, by Flaxman 3, by Gilbert 3, by Marochetti 3, by Baily 3, by Banks 2, by Behnes 2, by Forsyth 2, by Manning 2, by Boehm 2, by Goscombe John 2; and one each by Bacon, jun., Brock, Cockerell, Frampton, Gahagan, Hopper, Kempe, Lough, Macdowell, Pegram, Pomeroy, Stevens, Theed, Thornycroft, Williamson and Woolner.

EPILOGUE

THE story of St. Paul's has been traced with reverent loyalty and earnest aim, though with imperfect achievement. It is long and varied, sometimes needing only outline, often ampler detail. It is necessarily closely dependent on the character of the men, more or less noble or the reverse, who were responsible for its guidance—Bishops, Deans, Primates, Kings, Preachers. The thoughts of those who in the stately procession of generations successively filled its aisles, must be gathered chiefly from what was said and done by the leaders within, and from the contemporary condition of civilisation and feeling. It is clear that from early days men looked to St. Paul's and Paul's Cross for inspiration and suggestion, and that in large measure they were not disappointed. At St. Paul's was discussed the idea of Magna Carta; here patriotic voices were raised against the yoke of the Legates; here were promulgated Constitutions which became the ecclesiastical law of England; the clergy of St. Paul's petitioned for the canonization of the enlightened Hugh Grossetête; here Bishop Pecock and Dean Colet prelude the Reformation; preachers deny the Papal supremacy; the leaders of the Reformation publish the simpler faith; Mary's preachers obtain reluctant hearing; those of Elizabeth are welcomed; the English liturgy is first used; the national gratitude for the restoration of the Church of England after the Puritan supremacy is embodied in the grand and united achievement of building the present Cathedral. And though it is too early to speak of the modern influence of St. Paul's, the central Church of the

Imperial City has certainly long come to be considered the most fitting place for the expression of the religious emotions of the nation. On the Sunday morning, for example, after the death of the late Queen Victoria, as was stated in the text, the police estimated that the number of those who wished to enter the Cathedral, and could not because it was full, was not less than 30,000. And the vast congregations that assemble do not come for mere sensation: they are in a special degree reverent and devout. During the time that elapsed between Queen Victoria's death and burial, every afternoon at four o'clock the Cathedral was filled from end to end with sincere worshippers, in fitting mourning dress, who came without invitation to show the genuineness of their sorrow. These and innumerable other indications show that by the blessing of God St. Paul's is not unworthy of its place in the national esteem.

It would be a high responsibility to be the mother church of London itself. For several centuries every British subject in foreign parts was regarded in law as sailing from the Parish of Stepney, and every child born on the high seas was registered in that parish. This invested the Bishop of London with a jurisdiction over every member of the Church of England throughout the world, until the modern creation of bishoprics beyond the United Kingdom. Formerly the Church in Canada and the United States was administered by the Bishop, who also had jurisdiction over the congregations of British subjects throughout the whole of Europe. In the Porteus Library at Fulham there are rows of volumes bound in vellum recording the transactions of the Bishops of London in America; when resident-chaplain to Bishop Jackson, I had charge of the "Log of the *Mayflower*," subsequently handed by Bishop Creighton to the President of the United States. In 1842 the Bishopric of

Gibraltar was founded for South Europe. Northern and Central Europe continue for British purposes under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, and for this purpose he has a special suffragan. The diocese itself is vast. In 1832 it consisted not only of the City of London and the county of Middlesex, but also of the Archdeaconries of Essex, Colchester and St. Albans, including the county of Essex, a considerable part of Herts, and four parishes in Bucks, as well as a large territory in Surrey, on the south of the Thames, extending from Mortlake to Kingston. At present it is exactly conterminous with the county of Middlesex, with a population, according to the last census, of 3,558,000.

But besides being the mother church for this enormous mass of people, St. Paul's is the official sanctuary of the empire in a way that belongs to no other cathedral. Canterbury is the See of the Primate, but it is too far off to fulfil such duties as must fall to the chief church of the capital City. The Primate himself is a trustee of St. Paul's, and as such has a stall opposite his fellow-trustee the Lord Mayor. Westminster Abbey is a Royal chapel, the august scene of the coronations, as formerly also of the Royal burials, and is endowed with a rich accumulation of historical and religious associations. But it will be realized from these pages, especially from those chapters about the old Cathedral where I followed mainly the light and guidance of Milman, one of the most independent and competent of ecclesiastical historians, how St. Paul's has had a share in the religious life of the nation that is quite unique. It is partly from its official character, partly from its prolonged series of stately and impressive solemnities, partly from momentous events, partly as the ancient place of Convocation and still its meeting-place, but, above all, by the living voice which it sends forth from generation to generation of faith, hope, love and courage to men and the nation, that it has filled

this lofty position. And as the dome rears its huge and peaceful mass above the teeming turmoil of the City below, so the message of the Christian temple rises above the varying eddies of the controversies of the day. It is a witness to the simple faith, the time-honoured creeds, the quiet, unostentatious ways of primitive times. Ecclesiastical fashions and customs vary, but the central Cathedral of the English people can be blamed by none for its faithful, undeviating adherence to a form of worship which has stood the test of centuries, which has satisfied the cravings of millions of hearts that sought a message from God, and which changes not but for an ever greater perfection.¹

¹ The present volume contains half the matter given in the larger edition of *Memorials of St. Paul's Cathedral*. For ampler details of mediæval life, for the remarkable career of Bishop Pecock, for accounts of the Sources of Revenue before the Reformation and of the Personal Staff of the Cathedral in the Middle Ages, for fuller information as to the processes of the Reformation, the Commonwealth, the Great Fire, Wren's plans, the building of the new Cathedral, for the treatment of Wren by the Commissioners, the life and works of Wren, the very quaint, interesting, and vivid diary of Verger Green (1853-1900, in three chapters), for ampler description of the Richmond Mosaics, and the story of the Organ, Music, Library, Bells, and Clock, and appendices giving the life of the Cathedral for a year, the catalogue of Deans, and the list of gifts to St. Paul's, reference should be made to that volume.

APPENDIX

BISHOPS OF LONDON

(FROM THE MEMORIAL LIST OF BISHOPS IN THE
CATHEDRAL)

(Those whose names are marked with an asterisk were
buried in Old St. Paul's.)

A.D.		A.D.	
		1004	Ælfhun
314	Restitutus	1014	Ælfwig
		1035	Ælfward
604	Mellitus	1044	Robert
		1051	*William
654	Cedd	1075	Hugh of Orval
666	Wine	1086	Maurice
675	*St. Erkonwald	1108	Richard de
693	Waldhere		Belmeis I.
706	Ingwald	1123	Gilbert
745	*Ecgwulf		(Universalis)
772	Sighaeh	1141	Robert (de Sigillo)
774	Eadberht	1152	Richard de
789	Eadgar		Belmeis II.
791	Coenwalh	1163	*Gilbert Foliot
794	Eadbald	1189	Richard FitzNeal
794	Heathoberht	1199	William of Ste
802	Osmund		Mere l'Eglise
811	Æthilnoth	1221	*Eustace
824	Ceolberht		Fauconberg
860	Deorwulf	1229	*Roger (Niger)
	Swithwulf	1244	*Fulk Basset
898	Heahstan	1260	*Henry Wengham
898	Wulfsige	1263	Henry Sandwich
926	*Theodred	1274	*John Chishull
953	Byrthelm	1280	*Richard Gravesend
959	St. Dunstan	1306	*Ralph Baldock
961	Ælfstan	1313	*Gilbert Segrave
996	Wulfstan	1317	*Richard Newport

A. D.		A. D.	
1319	Stephen Gravesend	1604	*Richard Vaughan
1338	Richard Bintworth	1607	*Thomas Ravis
1340	*Ralph Stratford	1610	George Abbot
1355	*Michael	1611	*John King
	Northburgh	1621	George Mountain
1362	Simon Sudbury	1628	William Laud
1375	William Courtenay	1633	William Juxon
1382	*Robert Braybrook	1660	Gilbert Sheldon
1405	Roger Walden	1663	Humfrey HENCH-
1406	Nicholas Bubwith		man
1407	*Richard Clifford	1675	Henry Compton
1421	John Kemp	1714	John Robinson
1426	William Gray	1723	Edmund Gibson
1431	*Robert FitzHugh	1748	Thomas Sherlock
1436	Robert Gilbert	1761	Thomas Hayter
1450	*Thomas Kemp	1762	Richard
1489	*Richard Hill		Osbaldeston
1496	Thomas Savage	1764	Richard Terrick
1502	William Warham	1777	Robert Lowth
1504	William Barons	1787	Beilby Porteus
1506	*Richard FitzJames	1809	John Randolph
1522	Cuthbert Tunstall	1813	William Howley
1530	*John Stokesley	1828	Charles James
1540	Edmund Bonner		Blomfield
1550	Nicholas Ridley	1856	Archibald Campbell
1553	Edmund Bonner		Tait
1559	Edmund Grindal	1869	John Jackson
1570	Edwin Sandys	1885	Frederick Temple
1577	*John Aylmer	1897	Mandell Creighton
1595	*Richard Fletcher	1901	ARTHUR FOLEY WIN-
1597	Richard Bancroft		NINGTON-INGRAM

University of California
SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
405 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90024-1388
Return this material to the library
from which it was borrowed.

JAN 25 1999

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY



A 000 999 995 4

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
THIS BOOK CARD



University Research Library

CALL NUMBER

SDR VOL PT C

00 607 01401151



1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26
0108E 42148-0



Univ
S